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# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-88-241* *15 December 1988*

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## Pact Defense Ministers To Gather in Dec

*AU1412191588 Sofia BTA in English*
*1816 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—The Committee of the Ministers of Defence of the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty will hold its regular session in Sofia, the capital of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in the second half of December 1988.

## Statistics on CEMA Economic Status Released

*LD0812220988 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1728 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 8—In the three quarters of this year, industrial production in the European CMEA countries, with the exception of Romania, grew by 3-6 percent as compared with the same period in 1987, a report by GUS (Poland's main statistical office) said. The exception is Hungary where the index virtually remained unchanged (a 0.1 percent drop). This means an increase in the growth rate of industrial production over the three quarters by about 2 points in Poland and Bulgaria as compared with the average annual growth rate in 1985-1987 and a decrease by about 2 points in Hungary and about 1 point in the GDR. The growth rate did not change in Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

The foreign trade turnover rose in all countries, with the exception of the USSR. Poland and Hungary achieved the highest export indices: A growth of 15 percent and 14 percent, respectively. Poland and the USSR attained the highest import indices: by 7 percent and 5 percent, respectively. In all countries under discussion, the foreign trade turnover with CMEA countries was growing more slowly (in the USSR it dropped) than turnover with capitalist countries. The Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary gained the greatest credit balance in foreign trade turnover: 1,595 million roubles, 1,231 million roubles and 625 million roubles, respectively.

## CEMA Nuclear Power Experts Meet in Warsaw

*LD0912000588 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1931 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 8—A conference of chairmen of state atomic energy supervision authorities of CMEA member states was held here today with a view to working out uniform technical norms for the nuclear power industries of all CMEA countries and supervision over nuclear objects being constructed in those countries with the technical aid of the Soviet Union.

Participants in the conference paid particular attention to coordination of ventures calculated to ensure full safety of the existing and planned nuclear power plants, training of nuclear supervision inspectors and organization of activities of supervision bodies.

The conference, chaired by Mieczyslaw Sowinski, chairman of the Polish Atomic Energy Agency PAA, was preceded by a visit by a group of Soviet specialists with Vadim Malyshev, chairman of that country's state committee for supervising the safe conduct of work in the atomic power-generating industry, to the construction site of Poland's first nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec, northern Poland.

## CEMA Legal Commission Session Held in Sofia

*AU1212192188 Sofia BTA in English*
*1803 GMT 12 Dec 88*

["C.M.E.A.: New Legal Prerequisites Needed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—The C.M.E.A. Standing Commission on Legal Matters opened its second session here. The four-day meeting is presided over by Mrs Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice of Bulgaria.

The delegations will consider important aspects of legal cooperation and will outline measures to improve the legal framework of economic and techno-scientific interaction. They will discuss the provision of effective legal prerequisites for wider direct contacts between the economic organisations in the C.M.E.A. member countries and for tighter discipline in honouring the obligations assumed under international agreements and more specifically under economic contracts.

A greetings address to the participants from Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, says that the restructuring of the mechanism of socialist economic integration requires that the C.M.E.A. Standing Commission on Legal Matters effect measures to consolidate the legal framework of direct production and techno-scientific contacts between the economic organisations and to tighten contractual discipline. All this is directly linked with the process of a gradual formation of a single socialist market.

The Bulgarian head of government discusses the expediency of abolishing the existing restrictions on direct contacts in the individual countries, of creating conditions for the economic organisations' independent entry on the international socialist market. What is needed is a fundamentally new normative basis for the interrelations at the economic level, including more freedom of contracting and a more adequate products liability. There is a need to lay down a modern legal framework for the new forms of cooperation: techno-scientific cooperation, international associations and joint ventures.

## BCP Central Committee Plenum Highlighted

### Zhivkov Gives Report

*AU1312204683 Sofia BTA in English 1926 GMT 13 Dec 88*

[Report on speech of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, at the 13 December BCP Central Committee Plenum in Sofia]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The report of Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, at the plenum of the CC of the BCP which started here today, titled "For Further Practical Realization of the July (1987) Strategy in the Restructuring of Our Society", puts ripe questions of the restructuring in Bulgaria whose resolution must start as early as the beginning of 1989. These questions have been discussed in detail at the Politburo of the CC of the BCP. And the plenum, points out Mr. Todor Zhivkov, has great importance for the further construction of socialism in this country, for the theory and practice of restructuring.

The report reassesses a number of the previous approaches in the spirit of the new realities in Bulgaria and in the world because the accumulated experience offers new solutions referring to the entire economy and system of government. New questions have emerged and the sharpness of certain problems in the economic sphere and the social relations has increased, and they require new solutions. There are also some problems of principle for whose resolution the leadership of this country had some difficulties till the present, notes Mr. Todor Zhivkov.

The report points out that according to the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, when implementing the strategy of restructuring, everything that hampers it should be eliminated, "an offensive on the entire front must be carried out".

Detailed and deep analysis has been made of the course of the restructuring and it is stressed that an important period in the development of this country has passed after the July (1987) Plenum of the CC of the BCP. The laying of the self-government foundations has started. The restructuring, points out Mr. Todor Zhivkov, will be a complicated and continuous process, which will meet bigger and lesser difficulties. He notes that it would be incorrect to create an idealized notion of the restructuring and its results.

After analysing the successful development of the Bulgarian economy after 1956 and noting the decreased rates of development in the 1981-1985 period, Mr. Todor Zhivkov points out that after the 13th BCP Congress (1986) the development is once again intensive and stable. Preconditions for more active social policy are formed. The Politburo of the CC of the BCP has made the conclusion that the restructuring gives and will give ever more better results. The restructuring of economy in the future should guarantee accelerated development of the production forces and adequate changes in the production and the other social relations.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov's report points out three realities, according to which reassessment of the restructuring should be made at present. They are the following:

—The qualitatively new stage in the development of the production forces in the world, the deep changes in the system of values;

—The processes underway in the socialist countries;

—The serious difficulties on the way of restructuring in Bulgaria in a number of aspects taking into consideration the fact that the overall development of this country is stable, without political, social or economic cataclysms.

As a main difficulty Mr. Todor Zhivkov points out the occurrence of alienation of the direct producers from the means of production and from property, and from some bodies of power respectively.

The report makes critical analysis of the hitherto experience of restructuring in economy pointing out that the attempt to carry out the restructuring without making completely the reform of the political system, has not given satisfactory results. The reform of the political system, which has rightly started as a "top-down revolution", has not been complemented by a "bottom-up revolution", with real changes of the structures where commodity producers work.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov points out that now must be eliminated all structures in the economy which bear command-administrative methods of management, which serve as obstacles to the organizations of the commodity producers for their turning into real self-managing economic organizations.

The conditions are ripe for the turning to company organization in the branches and activities of the national economy, stresses Mr. Todor Zhivkov. That does not mean a reorganization of the primary units—plants, etc., but it means elimination of the administrative bureaucratic "top", thus giving the commodity producers firmer hand. Companies can be founded on he base of all forms of socialist property. The relations between the companies and the state bodies will be entirely on economic basis. In the future, reads the report, the foundation or the liquidation of any form of economic activity must be made only through the respective legal body, and not through administrative way.

The report pays considerable attention to economic regulators. Different mechanisms should be used, bonds and shares included, as well as other economic forms of association inside or outside this country. These must be forms of competition in the home and international market.

The relations between the commodity producers and the state are envisaged to be regulated through a minimal number of taxes. The prices will be regulated by the state through the market. In the new conditions the role of the state is not decreased but a number of its functions undergo qualitative changes. The establishing of a new type of state hierarchy is necessary, the driving force for whose activity in the economy and the other spheres should be the law.

In the sphere of science and education, through similar measures, must be completely undermined the basis of the hitherto bureaucratic system of budget financing in order to block the way of the consumer attitudes.

As an especially important requirement for success of the restructuring the report points out the elimination of the anonymity about mistakes and weaknesses.

The report carries a number of considerations related to the restructuring in the intellectual sphere. The existing creative unions should be transformed in the future into creative-professional organizations, and everything that provides conditions for monopoly in their present functions should be eliminated.

The report before the plenum of the CC of the BCP pays special attention to the forming of the plan for the development of this country in 1989. It will envisage deep technological-structural innovation and raising of the balance of the economy, as well as social orientation of the economic development. The satisfaction of the home market is viewed as the most important problem. Considerable changes are made in the sphere of investments. Considerable lessening of export, especially of goods and services deficient at the home market, is envisaged. The opportunities for import through new forms of cooperation will be increased. "There must not be any limitations to the initiatives in this sphere, if they are in compliance with the law, if they provide more and higher quality goods and services for the Bulgarian consumer," reads the report.

The report at the BCP CC plenum analyses in detail the problems of of democratization and reform of the legal superstructure. As a main task of the democratization at present it points out that "the people must not simply turn into a subject of government, but into subject of power, subject bearing power, exercising power".

It is pointed out that ever wider scope for expression is opened in this country to the self-governing communities and man, for social creativity. Ever more conditions are created for prevention of bureaucratic malpractices. Practical measures are implemented for protection of the rights, freedoms and prestige of the citizens. Socialist pluralism of opinions and interests of people are realized, broader publicity on the questions related to the development of this country is secured.

The report stresses the need of new social conscience and political culture of the society.

"The democratization is a part of the new historical content of the world. The democratization in Bulgaria must be broadened in accordance with the achievements of modern civilization," emphasises the report.

The restructuring in the legislation must consolidate new proportions in power. With amendments to the Constitution must be regulated the statute and functions of the new state bodies, must be made the respective changes in the order and the legal authorities of the representative bodies of state power and of their relations with the self-governing communities. Complete reassessment of the election system must be made.

The report pays attention also to the future structure and activity of the public organizations and movements, especially to the Fatherland Front, the Young Dimitrov Communist League and the trade unions.

The need of their restructuring is assessed as "urgent". The adjustment and practice of some of the public organizations to exercise functions which are inherent to the self governing communities must be eliminated. At the same time the public organizations should act as partners and opponents of the self-governing communities.

The Fatherland Front must renounce the unnecessary elements of organization and must develop as broad people's and national movement.

The Youth Organization should relieve itself of state functions, it must not turn into a section of the party. It is proposed in the report to abolish the personification of the Youth Organization with the name of a party leader (Georgi Dimitrov) and to rename it in the future as Bulgarian Communist Youth Union.

In connection with the future activity of the Bulgarian Trade Unions the report poses the question of principle for the so-called protection function. The report reads: The law strictly outlines the scope of the protective functions in the sphere of labour and labour relations, of social security and living standards. The trade union defence does not mean absolute, guaranteed legal protection for everyone—for the conscientious ones, and for the careless, for those that violate the working and technological discipline.

In conclusion the report points out that the decisive step on the road of restructuring envisaged by the BCP can be made by people who are adequate to modern requirements for high professionalism in their work. At the same time it is noted that an alarming contradiction has emerged between the character of the restructuring as a goal of the party and the style and methods of work used by the party, state and public bodies and organizations. The style and method of the work of the party and state leadership do not correspond sufficiently, reads the report, to the expectations for restructuring and changes of the people.

The report stresses the need of personal responsibility, of adhering to socialist legality. Attention is paid to the possible difficulties which will occur in the development of restructuring: monopoly, the struggle to preserve old structures, the struggle to preserve privileges, the opposition of the good-for-nothings.

It is stressed that the restructuring is a test for the Bulgarian Communist Party, for its organizational, ideological and ethical maturity.

## Zhivkov on Culture

*AU1312211088 Sofia BTA in English 1949 GMT 13 Dec 88*

[Report on speech by Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, at the 13 December BCP Central Committee Plenum in Sofia]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—There must be changes in the creative unions and in the organizations disseminating the cultural values. The changes should be in compliance with the new economic approaches and continue the resolutions of the plenum of the CC of the BCP for restructuring in the intellectual sphere, it is said in Mr Todor Zhivkov's report.

He explains that the aim of the changes is the elimination of the conditions for monopoly in the creative activities. What is undertaken is directed towards changes in the system and the organization of the creative activities. A system should be built which would work for the talented person, the man with the original thought, without whom the intellectual life is deemed to a stalemate.

The turning of the creative unions into creative and professional organizations is among the measures, directed at the changing of the present system, containing dangers of deformations. The admission to membership in them would change, too. "Thus, for instance all artists with the respective higher education should be admitted in the restructured union of the artists, if they wish, of course. Things should not be as they are now: to put different kinds of restrictions. The doors of the other creative unions should also be open wide." The report also says that there is nothing which imposes the founding of party organizations at the creative unions. The members of the BCP would be members of the party organizations at their place of work or habitation.

There must be a system which creates conditions for the utmost creative expression and possibilities for true evaluation of the personal contribution, Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed. He dwelled on the way of forming of the creative funds which exist at the creative unions.

The resolution of this problem should be in compliance with the principles of action of the self-managing organizations in the intellectual sphere. Up till now sums were accounted in the creative funds, won by the enterprises, subordinate to the creative unions, while the mechanism for their distribution set up conditions for the existence of monopoly, for deformations and corruption.

It would be expedient that the functions related to the publishing and dissemination of the cultural values should be undertaken by other organizations which we could call houses, the report says. Such organizations can undertake the publishing of literature, the organization of exhibitions, the dissemination of spiritual values. Thus, all publishing houses which are subordinate now to the public organizations and creative unions would be placed at equal conditions and would work under the same common rules and economic mechanisms.

## Zhivkov Views Democracy

*AU1312211188 Sofia BTA in English 2033 GMT 13 Dec 88*

[Report on Speech by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committe and State Council chairman, at the 13 December BCP Central Committee Plenum in Sofia]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—Restructuring of the legal superstructure gives the tone of the whole restructuring of society, says the report of Mr Todor Zhivkov before the plenum of the CC of the BCP which opened here today.

The secretary of the CC of the BCP [title as received] and president of the State Council of Bulgaria said that the democracy of life and the changes in the legal superstructure are the deep essence of the renovation underway at present in this country, that the global problem of democracy in the present stage consists in the turning of the people not simply into a subject of management but also into a subject of power, a subject, a carrier of power, exercising power.

The report says that there are no reasons for deviations from the chosen way, that certain results have already been scored along that way, which would gradually change the social conscience, the atmosphere in society. With the setting up of the self-managing communes the aim is placed at raising man to new economic, political, social and intellectual positions, at granting the people, at their habitations and in their working teams, immense rights, and, alongside with that responsibilities, which would shape up their conscience of real owners.

Another trend of democracy of society is the realization of the socialist pluralism of the opinions and interests of the people as well as the ensuring of wide openness, concerning the issues of the country's development. The socialist pluralism expresses the versatility of interests of the working people which, in their final aim are interests of society.

Mr Todor Zhivkov adds that neither the pluralism of opinions nor the openness can form false notions and illusions for the possibilities of socialism bearing in mind the considerations for the new historical content of the

modern world which is to be constructed and which is the main task of restructuring. In the solution of the problems the economic potential of society is assessed as well as its technological culture, its level of education. It is necessary to set free the social forces, which are carriers of democracy and for which it is of vital importance.

It is noted that with the development of the process of democracy in this country Bulgaria should defend its place in the modern world. Democracy is a part of the new historical content in the world and in Bulgaria it should expand in compliance with this content, with the achievements and the conditions of present civilization. This would mean that as a whole, the Bulgarian society and the nation would go along the way of restructuring for life in the conditions of this content. Along this way Bulgaria should realize its place in the world and should change this place, strengthening its position of a civilized and cultural country.

Mr Todor Zhivkov dwelled on the necessity of a further development of the legal system and the legal superstructure. An utmost scope and expression of the self-managing communes should be guaranteed and a full development of their energy and initiative, democracy and compliance of the interests of the different social groups, elimination of the bureaucratic abuse of power and its taking over by the social communes and their members, observation of the rights of the citizens and of their freedom. Restructuring in the legislation should strengthen new proportions in power.

## Zhivkov on Gorbachev Speech

*AU1412085288 Sofia BTA in English*
*2256 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The visit of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in the United States and his speech before the UN General Assembly are events of exceptional political importance, said Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria. This assessment is contained in the speech which he delivered at the opening of the plenum of the CC of the BCP today.

The plenum discusses the report of Mr Todor Zhivkov for further practical realization of the July strategy (the concept, adopted at the July Plenum of the CC of the BCP, 1987) in the restructuring of the society and drafts of the plan for techno-scientific and socio-economic development and of the budget for the next year.

Dwelling on Mikhail Gorbachev's meetings on American soil as a confirmation of the fruitful dialogue in the Soviet-American relations, Mr Todor Zhivkov said: It is indicative that these relations are developing on the road of cooperation and understanding. With all this they have great significance for the entire complex of the East-West relations, for the securing of a peaceful future on the planet. He assessed Mr Gorbachev's speech at the U.N. as a "telling peak of the defence, development and practical realization of the principles of the new political thinking". The proposals set forth by the Soviet leader contain strong impetus, open a new stage in disarmament and guaranteeing of international security, said Mr Todor Zhivkov. He stressed that this speech puts to the fore the all-human problems, whose resolution must be a cornerstone of the international relations.

The BCP and the state support completely the proposals of the Soviet leader. We will continue to make everything possible for the triumph of the new political thinking, said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

In his speech he dwelled also on the tragedy that has befallen the Armenian people, and once again expressed the fellow-feelings of the Bulgarian people and its readiness to help the victims of the earthquake. Recalling the historical friendship between Bulgarians and Armenians, the Bulgarian leader once again expressed fellow-feeling to the Soviet people, to the citizens of Soviet Armenia affected by the catastrophe. We make and will continue to make everything within our power in order support the Armenian people, he said.

Today started the speeches of the participants in the plenum.

Tomorrow the plenum of the CC of the BCP continues.

## Zhivkov on Movements

*AU1412092588 Sofia BTA in English*
*2226 GMT 13 Dec 88*

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—As a whole, the task for the restructuring of the public organizations and movements remains an urgent one, regardless of the undertaken measures and the changes made, reads the report of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, at the plenum of the CC of the BCP which started today.

The principled position for the further restructuring of the public organizations is that the self-governing communities are those that receive power, that they will have new rights and responsibilities for resolution of the basic tasks in economic, social and intellectual aspects.

The report stresses that the public organizations and movements will be significant units of the political system, of the society in which the initiative of the people will be the driving force. Abandoning the exercising of functions inherent to the leaderships of the self-governing communities, they will have to play the role of their partners and opponents. Partners as a broad social base for explanation and implementation of the policy of the respective community, as well as the party and state policy. Opponents whose word cannot but be taken into account in the discussion and resolution of the questions.

The report points out as expedient after the plenum of the CC of the BCP to organize at the leading and executive bodies of the public organizations and movements the working out of guidelines for their further restructuring.

Further on the report expresses the considerations for the restructuring of:

**The Fatherland Front**

The Fatherland Front, which has its indispensable place and importance in the social system of this country, will continue to be a symbiosis between an organization and movement.

The chief moment in the restructuring of the organization is the forming of optimal structure and mechanism of the socio-political and cultural activity of the people.

This country must have a number of societies and unions: for socio-political and educative activities; for participation in the resolution of the socio-economic tasks; for expression of the society's charity, its care for the ill people, for the socially weak ones, for the lonely people, for lonely mothers; for amateur creative and artistic work, etc.

The report categorically stresses that these societies are a social support of the self-government bodies, they are the necessary "second character" of self-government, and any attempt to impose administrative rules on them must be blocked immediately.

The report points out that it would be right if the Fatherland Front returns to its initial essence, when it has been a broad people's and national movement. It must renounce the unnecessary elements of organization.

Committees of the Fatherland Front must be established on the territory of the communities which should represent all public organizations, independent societies and clubs, the organizations of the BCP and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party included. They will be the place where interaction and coordination are carried out, as well as coordination of the activity with the respective bodies of self-government of the communities.

In a similar way must be organized the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

**The Youth Organization**

At the present stage of special importance is to develop political line of the party for work with the youth, stresses the report, noting that, on the one hand, this line must take into account the real success of the party in its work with youth, with which it has no political problems, and on the other hand there must not be cherished any illusions for a guarantee that there will not be any problems, even if not political, at least some difficulties.

The policy of the party with the youth at present and in the future must be in compliance with the assessment of the development of this country and of the world.

Taking into account that the hitherto ways for organization of youth enter and will continue to enter more and more in contradiction with the new needs, the report points out the need of: regulation on a new base of the obligations of the state to the youth, setting on a new base the relations between the party and the youth, principled differentiation between the activity of society in the sphere of human socialization and the social initiative of youth itself, amending the legislation with a view to the needs of the young people.

In any case youth will develop under the direct care of the party, will grow and consolidate itself as a follower of the work of the party. At the same time there must not be permitted cases when some party bodies turn the Youth Organization into a section of the party. As it has been stressed before, it is necessary to abandon the practice of copying the methods and forms of party work by youth bodies and organizations.

The report points out that it would be right to eliminate the personification of the Youth Organization with the name of one of the party leaders (Georgi Dimitrov), and in the future it should be called the Bulgarian Communist Youth Union.

The young people should organize by themselves. It must be taken into account: the age dynamism of the period from the primary school to the age of 30 in the life of young people, the difference in the sphere of realization of youth, the various interests of the young people. The platform should be the ideal, moral and other principles of socialism, the Marxist-Leninist view of life, the July Concept.

There must be found a better resolution of the question for a membership in the youth union. In any case it must not be obligatory, reads the report.

Categorically should be changed the system of growth of leading cadres in the youth union. On all levels they must be elected by the young people themselves and they should account for their action before them.

The report points out that, on the base of the new model for organization and activity of the youth union, conditions are created for it to act in a flexible and efficient way, taking part in the gathering and use of financial funds and combining its aims of a public organization with the interests and ambitions of different layers of the youth.

For this purpose can be used: economic association of the Youth Organization with other public organizations and commodity producers; the Movement of Technical and Scientific Activity of Youth; the funds acquired through the brigade movement; money from the funds of economic organizations and other units working in the sphere of the youth organization.

**The Trade Unions**

In connection with the activity of the trade unions, the report pays attention to their protective functions in the transition to self-management in all spheres, and the changes in the work of trade unions, which ensue from the restructuring of the system of economic management and control of the socialist property. They must fulfill a complex and responsible role as a social supporter and opponent of the self-governing bodies, to defend the self-managing units from violations on their independence.

## Zhivkov on Restructuring

*AU1412095788 Sofia BTA in English*
*2206 GMT 13 Dec 88*

["Todor Zhivkov on Restructuring of the Economy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The development of the production forces through the establishment of the new technological way of production is determined as a main task in the report of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP and State Council president, before the plenum of the CC of the BCP, which started in this country today.

The task is set to find in the shortest possible terms the best and shortest ways for direct involvement of all strata of society in the economic life, for radical restructuring in the relations of ownership, aiming at the formation of qualitatively new incentives and interest of each socialist worker in the final results of his activities.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed the need of eliminating all red tape barriers and the carriers of the administrative-command methods of management in economy. He proposes to turn to a company organization of the national economy. The company should be the basic form of organization in industry, agriculture and the other spheres.

Initiators for the setting up of companies should become the state bodies, the economic organizations, banks, cooperations, individual citizens, etc.

The companies would not, however, be established with a resolution of the Council of Ministers as the present economic organizations, but with decisions of the respective local or central legal bodies. That is why the report recommends to make a radical restructuring of the respective legislation and the structure of the legal bodies with the basic aim to destroy the bureaucratic barriers and to ensure equality and responsibility of all before the law. It is planned that some state and administrative acts, including resolutions of the Council of Ministers, which contradict the law, would be abrogated by the legal authorities.

The relations of the companies with the state would be fully economic and the state orders to the respective companies should not exceed 70 percent of their capacity. The company should have great initiative in its investment and market policy, and nobody, not even the government, would be able to make agreements on the production export and the prices by which this production would be sold, either on the home or on the international market.

The next step should be the uniting of the companies into more powerful groups on the basis of their economic interests, in compliance with the modern trends of production concentration and competition in the international market. These associations should form and realize the strategy in a certain sphere, in the development of the basic investment decisions, in marketing, production management and modernization, the choice of leading cadres, etc.

Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed his conviction that the company organization should be widely applied in agriculture, and reminded that the forthcoming plenum of the CC of the BCP on agriculture would discuss also the matters related to organization in this sphere.

In the paper there are proposals for the establishment of a system of economic regulators, which should ensure conditions for development of new mechanisms and forms of management. It is offered that among the mechanisms used would be the use of shares and bonds as well as other economic forms of cooperation inside and outside the country. The companies and the other economic and scientific organizations, as well as the communes should be granted the right to issue shares and bonds in view the attraction of means, needed for their development, the document indicates [sentence as received]. Shareholders can become the state, social and economic organizations, as well as individual citizens. Foreign companies, banks and citizens from abroad can also be shareholders in the company, but the type of their share-holding would be specific and would be determined by the state. The amount of the shares which can be bought by the individual Bulgarian citizen should be restricted in view the observation of the basic principles of socialist management and distribution, the report indicates. [sentence as received] It is planned that with the share organization there would be preconditions for directing of the investments to the most efficient productions and activities.

The report tells of a new type of state hierarchy, for whose activity in economy and in the other spheres the moving force is law. The supreme court can countermand resolutions of the government, as well as of the central committee and the other bodies of the BCP, of the social organizations and of all units in the material and intellectual sphere, provided that those resolutions are in contradiction with the law.

This, however, does not mean that under the new conditions the socialist state would give up the strategic leadership. That would have been a gross blunder, the document goes on to say.

Mr Todor Zhivkov says that in order to ensure its functions in the strategic leudership and the planned development of the economy and to guarantee the all-national needs in all spheres, the state should receive the basic share

of the profit. The remaining part is to be left to the respective companies for self-support and modernization, for encouragement of the working force, for social needs, etc.

It is recommended that the state would regulate the salaries by determining a lower limit of remuneration, according to the qualification of the respective working categories. The report tells that the state would regulate through the market mechanism the prices of the basic goods and services of primary need and of certain raw materials of strategic importance for national economy. Another lever for regulation would be the control on price-formation in view the observation of the legally established rules in the free contracting of prices for the basic amount of goods among the producers. [sentence as received]

But, no matter what the forms and mechanisms that we create are, it should be made clear that these are forms of competition in the home and foreign market, the report goes on to say. In order to raise the economy to a new level, all self-managing organizations would have to prove their vitality and efficiency, competing with their competitors in the country and abroad. At the present stage the state should render some protection to the small organizations, companies, cooperatives, etc., from the attempts for unlawful competition of the large organizations in the country. It would continue to subsidize some low-profitable or losing productions and activities, which are however absolutely necessary for the economy and for meeting of the urgent needs in the social sphere. But the main thing which holds true to everything is the competition in everything and everywhere, Mr Todor Zhivkov said.

It is recommended that the state bodies would work out a clear strategy for switching from the present to a share-holding type of organization of those economic units where this is possible. In this relation, it is proposed that transitional conditions would be worked out for the transformation of the existing enterprises and associations.

The proposed new forms of economy are characterized in the report as a generalization of the historical experience and as a product of the modern organization. But it is noted that in the use of the experience of the other countries it is not possible to take mechanically ready solutions, nor solutions, corresponding to the specific conditions of the other states or social systems. It is pointed out that the proposed forms are adequate to the essence of socialism, to the production relations in the new stage of development of Bulgaria.

## 'Serious Difficulties' Noted

*AU1412104888 Sofia BTA in English 2119 GMT 13 Dec 88*

["T. Zhivkov on the Results of Restructuring in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC of the BCP is of the opinion that now it is necessary to make a breakthrough in the practical realization of the July Concept for the restructuring of the social life in Bulgaria, to clean the road for a broad offensive on the entire front. This was stressed by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP in his report at the plenum of the CC of the BCP which started today.

In his detailed analysis of the results of the application of the new concept for further construction of socialism in Bulgaria, adopted at the July Plenum of the CC of the BCP (1987), Mr Todor Zhivkov dwells on the revolutionary changes in all spheres of life. Special attention is paid to the self-governing organizations and the respective bodies of self-government established in a number of sectors. Dwelling on the comprehensive and continuous process of the restructuring, in which the formulations and the practical steps will be improved, Mr Todor Zhivkov notes that the idea for this revolutionary process is the radical innovation for the people and with the people.

The strategy adopted by this country for a qualitatively new growth is assessed by the Bulgarian party leader as correct. In support of this view, he gives the following data for the first 3 years of this 5-year-plan period (1986-90):
—The national income grows annually by 5.6 percent entirely on the base of the increasing social productivity of labour.
—The decrease of material expenses (without the allowances for depreciation) per 100 leva commodity production by about 1.6 percent annually.
—Increase of the commodity circulation by an average of 4.5 percent annually and of services for the population for the same period by about 18 percent.
—Growth of profitability per 100 leva production funds by more than 9 percent annually.
—A new growth is envisaged for the next year in comparison to 1988: of the produced national income—by 6.2 percent; of the social productivity of labour—by 6.4 percent; of commodities for the home market—12.2 percent.

The hitherto results, reads the report, provide the planned outpacing development of the structurally determining branches of industry: electronics, biotechnological and chemical industry, mechanical engineering.

The most complete utilization of the new opportunities of the integration with the socialist countries, the [words indistinct], investments through the establishment of joint enterprises, consortiums, the development of zones for free trade with partners from the nonsocialist countries will be broadened with a view to enhance the progressive changes in the structure of economy and the increase of its social efficiency.

The real per capita income, for the past 3 years, is expected to have grown by 11 per cent, the average annual salary for 1988—to reach 244 leva. [sentence as received]

The conclusion drawn from these examples is: The restructuring is giving and will continue to give considerable results.

Further on Mr Todor Zhivkov points out that the approaches to the restructuring must be in compliance firstly with the qualitatively new stage in the development of the production forces in the world on the basis of the modern techno-scientific revolution, with the deep and all-embracing changes in the base and superstructure, in the organizational forms and the system of values. In this comprehensive process the internal and the international aspects are of equal importance.

It is necessary, points out Mr Todor Zhivkov, to improve the approaches in the restructuring in Bulgaria in accordance with the processes in the socialist countries and most of all in the Soviet Union. There is no qualitative difference between the processes in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, stresses he.

The accumulating international experience in the restructuring enriches Marxism-Leninism as a theory, methodology and ideology.

While the general development of this country is stable without political, social and economic cataclysms, the restructuring meets serious difficulties, notes Mr Todor Zhivkov. The political question of restructuring is how to overcome the alienation of the producers from the means of production, property and power. Mr Todor Zhivkov notes critically that active economic preconditions have not been secured. The system of regulators and methods of management has failed in many respects because of lack of experience, he points out. Thus the attempt to carry out restructuring without a complete reform of the political system is not giving satisfactory results.

The reform of the political system which has rightly started as a "top-down revolution" has not been complemented by a "bottom-up revolution" with real changes in the structures where commodity producers work. Certain structures have remained where outdated views and approaches, old mentality continue to live. Therefore we have to pass to the next step of restructuring. Life confirms the rightness of the concept adopted at the July Plenum of the CC of the BCP (1987). The most important thing at present is to secure its further practical realization, emphasises Mr Todor Zhivkov.

## Tanchev on BZNS Support

*AU1412150688 Sofia BTA in English*
*1400 GMT 14 Dec 88*

["P. Tanchev Addresses BCP CC Plenum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—Full support—this is the attitude of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) to the report at the plenum of the CC of the BCP, said in his speech before the plenum Mr. Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council.

It shows the road to a new stage of Bulgaria's development, the very essence of restructuring, said the leader of the BZNS.

The hitherto experience in the restructuring of the economy has showed that if the undertakings start from the "top" and the millions of working people do not embrace them, such undertakings are doomed to failure. That is why we greet the deeply founded idea that the restructuring of the economy should start "bottom-up", said Mr. Petur Tanchev.

In his speech he stressed the reform of the political system as the most important guarantee for the irreversibility of the restructuring. He also supported the conclusion drawn in Mr. Todor Zhivkov's report that for the further success of this reform an overall restructuring of the legal superstructure is necessary.

Supporting the ideas for innovation of the public organizations Mr. Petur Tanchev said: One of the main reasons for the existence of such political stability in Bulgaria is the fact that we have real organizations and movements, which have preserved their deep national character and the traditions of the political life in this country. We, the members of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, can say that during the past decades the attitude of the BCP to the BZNS in the concrete historical conditions has served as an example and prototype of socialist pluralism in Bulgaria, pointed out Mr. Petur Tanchev.

The leader of the Agrarian Party informed of the restructuring undertaken by the BZNS in its overall organization and political activity. He spoke also of the new requirements, which in his opinion, are set before the common work of the BCP and the BZNS by the time and the social transformations.

As an agrarian party, historically related to the ideals of people's rule, the BZNS thinks that among the main directions of the common work with the BCP are: the further democratization of the society, the implementation of the self-government principles, of the new agrarian policy. [sentence as received]

## Atanasov on Economy

*AU1412151188 Sofia BTA in English*
*1433 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—On the second day of its plenum, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party discusses the report by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, "on the further practical implementation of the July strategy (the concept adopted at the July 1987 Plenum of the CC of the BCP) in the restructuring of our society". The participants are also considering the draft plan for the country's techno-scientific and socio-economic development in 1989 and the 1989 draft national budget.

Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, said in his statement at the plenum that the report lays down a new orientation of the BCP and of the state at the intricate stage of restructuring which makes it possible to go ahead with a practical realization of the concept.

There are neither ideological hurdles nor political antagonism between the BCP line adopted at the April 1956 Plenum of its Central Committee and the July 1987 Concept. This is precisely why we proved prepared for the change, for the new road in the construction of socialism, Mr Georgi Atanasov said, having recalled that the April 1956 Plenum renounced the personality cult and the accompanying social relations.

The Bulgarian head of government discussed the economy as the principal area of reform. He said that the early eighties witnessed a considerable slowdown in the growth rates of the national income, which fell to its lowest point in 1985. This downward tendency has since been checked, and with every passing year the leading economic indicators register an improved performance, he said. He singled out the increase of the share of intensive factors in the national income growth (next year the proportion of these factors in the national income increase will reach 62.8 percent, up from 50 percent at the end of the previous 5-year period) and the progressing technological renewal and restructuring of the economy as trends of paramount importance.

Citing the achievements in specific top-priority branches, Mr Georgi Atanasov indicated that the reorientation is also associated with a radical change in the management of the national economy. The speaker laid emphasis on the reforms which have created conditions for a transition to economic self-management and for the diminished regulation of economic activity. The first steps have also been made in the reform of banking and the credit system, the mechanism of finance is being perfected, and wholesale prices are formed on the basis of new principles.

"We have begun an across-the-board economic reform, ranging from property relations to the structures of organisation and management," Mr Georgi Atanasov said, summing up his conclusions. Further on he considered some difficulties accompanying the changes, among which he pointed specifically to the failure to provide effective economic regulators. "We have started restructuring by dismantling the bureaucratic structures. While this costs us a price, we are nevertheless convinced of the enormous advantages of the new type economic hierarchy," the prime minister said. "Irrespective of the problems, the results achieved show that the changes go in the right direction. A new economy is already emerging in terms of technologies, structure and level of the human factor. The economic restructuring is gathering pace, and this is the most important characteristic of the years since the last congress of the BCP (in 1986).

Mr Georgi Atanasov also spoke about the tasks facing the government, which is bringing the development of a stable legal framework in line with the organisation of economic companies. The company-based organisation of the economy, the structural and technological reorientation and the foreign economic policy are the three linchpins of the economic reform, said Mr Georgi Atanasov, in whose view the Bulgarian economy is opening up to the world to a dramatically increasing degree.

## Mladenov Delivers Address

*AU1412183488 Sofia BTA in English*
*1746 GMT 14 Dec 88*

["Petur Mladenov Addresses BCP CC Plenum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—Addressing the plenum which the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party opened yesterday, Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs, discussed certain aspects of the link between the home and the foreign policy in the process of restructuring in Bulgaria.

Having observed that the positive results in the country's development have not come up to expectations, Mr Petur Mladenov considered some of the reasons for this state of affairs.

He stressed the need for a radical renewal of the Bulgarian economy. "It will be impossible to upgrade it to a world-class level without opening it up to the world," Mr Petur Mladenov emphasized, pointing to the need to study the experience of the most advanced countries.

Mr Petur Mladenov spoke further on about the need to reconsider many foreign policy points viewed as axiomatic so far.

"We should realize that the world starts taking shape on the basis of the balance of interests and not of the balance of power. The balance of interests does not just epitomize the dread of a nuclear, ecological or other catastrophe, it reflects mankind's amassed experience and transcends the limits of the nuclear and space age we are living in."

Mr Petur Mladenov said that "we should learn to look at our ideological, political and other differences with the West not from the 'who-beats-whom' angle but as a motivation for competing to produce more material wealth and cultural values."

Stressing the need to break out of the narrow interpretation of peaceful coexistence, Mr Petur Mladenov made out a case for "an active interdependent coexistence, with the role of the economic, legal and political components of security increasing at the expense of the military factors."

"We should accept as legitimate our right to take interest in the internal situation in other countries as well as their right to show specific interest in the domestic situation in our country, to ask questions and to give opinions. This does not amount to interference in the internal affairs but is rather prompted by the need to build confidence, to help the partner peoples and states get to know each other better," Mr Petur Mladenov emphasized.

He went on to say that the doctrines, the laws and the practices of the Western countries, the views of their politicians and businessmen should be carefully studied. "We must overcome, once and for all, the negation reflex, the habit of reacting with an antithesis for each of their theses. Where is it written in the teaching of Marxism that the mission of socialism is to build an antiworld opposite in every respect to capitalism? What is explicitly written there is that socialism synthesizes the best that man has achieved throughout his history," Mr Petur Mladenov said.

Discussing the new situation which is emerging in Europe and the world now, he stressed the importance of the new flexible and strategically and tactically well-advised policy implemented by the Soviet leadership and personally by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev. Mr Petur Mladenov said that Bulgaria sincerely welcomes the peace initiatives advanced by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech to the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly.

Mr Petur Mladenov said that being part of the international community, Bulgaria is working actively for the implementation of the idea of a "common European home". A very good political ground has been prepared for the promotion of bilateral relations with the F.R.G., Italy, Britain, the U.S., Belgium, Austria and many other countries.

He noted the availability of favourable opportunities to find [word indistinct] points with the small and the medium-sized countries in Europe, as well as to put forward joint initiatives within the framework of the C.S.C.E. process. The Bulgarian foreign minister declared himself in favour of elaborating new political thinking to match the specific conditions of the European subregions, where Bulgaria has most immediate interests.

Bulgaria has come up with specific suggestions for inter-Balkan cooperation in environmental protection and for signing a treaty on ecological protection.

There are favourable prospects for Bulgaria to serve as a sort of bridge (in terms of communications, mediation, good offices and commercial exchanges) between Europe's industrialized West and the Middle East where a period of [word indistinct] reconstruction can be expected after decades of wars and devastation.

Mr Petur Mladenov pointed out that one particularly pressing task, as far as Bulgaria is concerned, is to gain access on the basis of equality and mutual benefit to the European and world cooperation and integration communities. "We are working actively for the establishment of fruitful relations with the Common Market, for our accession to GATT, for participation in other international organisations," he said.

The Bulgarian foreign minister made a special point of the creation of a single socialist market.

In the conditions of restructuring, along with the perfection of the mechanism shaping and implementing the fraternal states' common foreign policy line, the responsibility of every individual country not just for its own destiny increases more than ever before, Mr Petur Mladenov said.

Discussing the human rights issue, which has become an integral part of international cooperation and an element of building trust among states, Mr Petur Mladenov said that the changes in the way the Soviet Union addresses this problem have led to a reversal of roles, making a number of Western states review their own positions.

The speaker said that work is underway in Bulgaria to bring some laws and regulations in line with the requirements of restructuring.

Mr Petur Mladenov went on to discuss the need for a reform of foreign policy, stressing that measures should be taken for a more effective international activity coordination between the state, the economic, the public and other institutions and organisations.

Winding up his remarks, Mr Petur Mladenov said that the country's activity abroad should contribute tangibly to its internal economic and social advancement, to revealing the advantages and the attraction of socialism, to helping Bulgaria make her mark on the international scene.

### Lukanov on Economic Relations

*AU1412201988 Sofia BTA in English 1805 GMT 14 Dec 88*

["Andrey Lukanov Addresses the CC of the BCP Plenum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—Commenting on the "opening" of contemporary socialism towards the world at the two-day plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Andrey Lukanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign economic relations, pointed out that Bulgaria considers economic relations and other interaction with other countries and peoples one of the decisive factors leading to prosperity. Here are the highlights of Mr Andrey Lukanov's statement:

—The self-isolation of the socialist countries, no matter how plausible and revolutionary their motives may seem on the face of it, is a position of backwardness, a retrograde position.

—A lot of barriers having to do with bureaucracy, planning, organization, structure and normatives are hindering the development of Bulgaria's foreign economic relations. The obstacles ensuing from the insufficiency of economic leverage and lack of profit motive act as a disincentive to the Bulgarian commodity producers in maintaining trade and economic contacts with partners abroad.

—It is necessary to bring the socialist organizations' activity in conformity with some uniform laws governing the market and commodity- money relations which are valid both for socialism and capitalism.

—Providing an economic mechanism capable of removing the elements of a super-sheltered national economy appears to be a feasible solution to these problems. The Bulgarian companies should be put into conditions comparable to those in which all leading competitors work. For this purpose it is necessary to speed up the implementation of the pricing reform and to set a real exchange rate of the Bulgarian leva to convertible currency in all international payments of the country.

The Bulgarian minister of foreign economic relations favours economic incentives and sanctions which will stimulate the country's exports. He also said that it is necessary to bring the body of law into conformity with the new economic realities. The state monopoly on foreign trade is now incompatible with the new principles of management, which, however, does not rule out the active role of the state in the strategic direction of foreign economic relations. Its participation in the process is a sine qua non for catching up with the most advanced countries in the world.

Mr Andrey Lukanov commented on Bulgaria's participation in the intergration processes within the C.M.E.A. He noted that the time of "specialization and trade by decree" is nearing its end and that successful will be only those Bulgarian companies which look upon the socialist market as a real market, all the more that the question of setting up a single socialist market is a key one in the restructuring implemented within the C.M.E.A. "It becomes clearer and clearer that only by setting up such a market the process of integration can be stimulated and the command-and-administer methods of economic management done away with once and for all both on national and on international level", the minister of foreign economic relations underlined.

## Personnel Changes Made

*AU1412194688 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] The plenum of the BCP Central Committee has ended. The following persons took the floor today during the discussion of the report on the further implementation in practice of the July strategy in restructuring our society: Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs; Stoyanka Krustenova, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Plovdiv Oblast People's Council; Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Trade Union Central Council; Plamen Vachkov, director of the Pravets "Microprocessing Systems" Economic Trust; Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations; and Nencho Geranov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the "Complex Automation of Technological Processes" Economic Trust.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov read a concluding speech. Stoyan Ovcharov, minister economy and planning, reported on the second item of the agenda.

A resolution was adopted after the discussion.
On the first item of the agenda:
1. After a thorough discussion the BCP Central Committee has highly evaluated and unanimously approved the report read by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee on further implementation in practice of the July strategy in restructuring our society, which has been approved by the Politburo.

On the basis of the analysis and conclusion made in the report and the discussion, the plenum considers that now the most important and decisive task is to implement a crucial turning point in the practical implementation of the July Concept and clear the road for a broad advance along the entire front.

The plenum endorses the premises and considerations developed in the report, which are to turn into the foundation of restructuring the economy in accordance with the company-based organization, and for drawing up the normative framework of our country's participation in the international division of labor and its foreign policy activity in accordance with the new historical world situation, as well as in accordance with the comprehensive renewal of the political system, the activity of the party and the public organizations, and the manner of life and style of work in all areas.

2. The exceptional importance of the problems discussed by the BCP Central Committee requires from the party, state, economic, and public organs and organizations to adopt dynamic measures, which will ensure the steady implementation of the plenum's decisions in all areas of life.

On the second item of the agenda:
The BCP Central Committee plenum adopts the report on the draft laws on the country's scientific-technical and socioeconomic development plan and budget for 1989.

The BCP Central Committee plenum recommends to the Council of Ministers to introduce the draft laws on the plan and budget for the consideration of the National Assembly.

The plenum reviewed organizational issues.

1. The following hitherto candidate members of the BCP Central Committee have been elected members of the BCP Central Committee with the view to further increasing the role and place of the BCP Central Committee as a collective organ of party leadership during the practical implementation of the July strategy in restructuring our country: Andrey Bundzhulov, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Borinka Tsvetkova, machine operator at the Vida Plant in Vidin, hero of socialist labor; Velin Kharizanov, master-roller at the Pernik Lenin Metallurgic combine, hero of socialist labor; Evtim Krustev, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Razgrad Oblast People's Council; Ivanka Vasileva, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee "Cadre Policy" Department; Kiril Zlatkov, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee "Foreign Policy and International Relations" Department; Pavel Matev, chairman of the Committee of Bulgarians Living Abroad; Petko Tanchev, chairman of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Association; Petur Kisyov, deputy minister of economiy and planning; Petur Peykov, secretary of the BCP Burgas Oblast Committee; Radi Semov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Khaskovo Oblast People's Council; Radislav Radev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO editor-in-chief; and Stoyanka Krustenova, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Plovdiv Oblast People's Council.

The following persons have been coopted as members of the BCP Central Committee: Vasil Mruchkov, chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Major General Georgi Milushev, head of administration of the State Council; and Evgeni Apostolov, adviser at the Council of Ministers.

The following persons have been elected candidate members of the BCP Central Committee: Aleksandur Strezov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs and Bulgaria's permanent representative at the United Nations; Venets Dimitrov, secretary of the primary party organization of the Cinematographers Union; Georgi Varnov, first secretary of the BCP Plovdiv Municipal Committee; Ivan Kyosev, secretary of the primary party organization of the Union of Bulgarian Painters; Ignat Radenkov, chairman of the Strazhitsa Construction-Trade Company and hero of socialist labor; Lyubomir Shopov, head of a BCP Central Committee Department; Lyudmil Staykov, chairman of the "Bulgarian Cinematography" Creative Economic Trust; Petur Anastasov, writer and director of the "Khristo Gerdanov" Publishing House in Plovdiv; Plamen Vachkov, chairman of the "Microprocessing Systems" Economic Trust in Pravets; Stefan Staykov, ambassador, head of a department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Toma Vurbanov, painter.

2. At their own request, Ognyan Doynov has been relieved of his post as member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, and Stoyan Markov of his post as candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

3. Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs, has been elected member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary; and Ivan Panev, first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee, has been elected member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

Petko Danchev, chairman of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Association; and Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, have been elected candidate members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

4. Stoyan Mikhaylov and Chudomir Aleksandrov have been released from the BCP Central Committee membership for reasons of expediency.

## 'Significant Change' at CPCZ Plenum Predicted

*AU1512112888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Dec 88*

[Text] It has been learned from well-informed circles in Prague that a significant change in the top leadership will be made at the CPCZ Central Committee plenum. The plenum which is taking place today and tomorrow should decide on the extraordinary congress and assess the reasons why the 5-year plan has not been fulfilled. Decisions on economic reform are also expected to be made.

## Presidium Discusses Central Committee Session

*LD1412000388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Dec 88*

[Text] At its session today the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee discussed some questions connected with the preparation of the Central Committee's 12th session, which will take place on 15 and 16 December. It discussed the extent of Czechoslovak aid to the people of the Soviet Armenia affected by the great earthquake, and highly praised the solidarity and internationalism which our public has demonstrated through its actions. The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee thus sincerely thanked the collectives and all the citizens who have been actively involved in the aid effort.

The Presidium went on to discuss the situation report on the state of modernization of selected production spheres in the consumer industry. It noted that in comparison with the previous situation, labor productivity in modernized areas had increased by 6 to 9 percent. However, modernization has so far had varying success in the individual production spheres.

The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee acknowledged the report on the results of the official visit of French President Francois Mitterrand to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of President of the Republic Gustav Husak on the 8-9 December 1988. It was briefed on Francois Mitterrand's deliberations with Comrades Gustav Husak, Milos Jakes, and Ladislav Adamec. They noted that the first official visit of a French president to Czechoslovakia crowned the present development of Czechoslovak- French relations and created good prospects for their development. At the same time it provided new incentives for deepening cooperation between the two countries in all spheres, which will be specifically worked out by the appropriate government organs of Czechoslovakia and France. The visit confirmed the growing significance of the dialogue of states with different social systems for strengthening cooperation and security in Europe and strengthening peace in the world.

The Presidium acknowledged a report on the results of the visit of Michael O'Riordan, national chairman of the Communist Party of Ireland, which took place from 26 November to 3 December.

## Leaders Meet CPCZ Course Participants

*LD1012001188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 9 Dec 88*

[Text] Two-week courses for leading secretaries of district and area party committees ended today at the CPCZ Central Committee's college. At the end of this, the third such course, the participants had an informal meeting with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the party Central Committee. Also present at the gathering were party Central Committee Presidium members Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Josef Kempny, Jozef Lenart, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil, party Central Committee secretaries Mikulas Beno and Frantisek Hanus, secretaries of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR and of the CPSL Central Committee, heads of departments for the CPCZ Central Committee, and other officials.

The courses made wide use of discussions and of exchanges of experience in implementing party policy at the present time, and helped to coordinate approaches and improve the forms and methods of party work. These courses will be followed up by preparations for a further conference of party activists focusing on the fulfillment of the difficult tasks in anticipation of the congress.

## Stejskal Presents Draft Budget to Assembly

*LD1312151688 Prague CTK in English 1308 GMT 13 Dec 88*

[Text] Prague Dec 13 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today opened its two-day session here to discuss the 1989 budget and amendments to the Labour Code.

The session is attended by Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, President Gustav Husak, Premier Ladislav Adamec and other members of the Communist Party Presidium and other officials.

Presenting the 1989 draft budget, Finance Minister Jan Stejskal stressed that the main tasks of the financial system are to strengthen its active influence on the effectiveness of the national economy, limitation of inflationary trends and strengthening of Czechoslovakia's overall economic equilibrium.

The minister described it as favourable that the budget is balanced. The total volume of the national budgets and the budgets of the national committees is planned at 407,600 million crowns, an increase of 19,900 million crowns or 5.1 per cent over this years.

The incomes and expenditures of the budget system as a whole, as well as its parts—the budgets of the Czechoslovak Federation, the two national republics and the national committees, will be balanced. The growth of financial resources and their more efficient use are to be ensured by reduced costs, better use of stocks, reduction of the number of projects under construction at one time

and higher effectiveness of investments and foreign trade. The budget provides for the expenditures required to implement the latest measures in social security and, contrary to former intentions, increases outlays on housing construciton and repairs.

The decisive integration role in the Czechoslovak budget system is played by the budget of the federation. It provides for incomes of 223,600 million crowns, i.e. 54.9 per cent of all incomes. 80,100 million crowns of this are earmarked to finance the operations of federal bodies and organizations and 143,500 million crowns are subsidies to the budgets of the Czech and the Slovak Republic.

The Czech Republic wil receive 60 per cent of this amount and the Slovak Republic 40 per cent, in comparison with 58.9 and 41.1 per cent respectively in 1988.

Payments by Czechoslovak self-financing organizations account for the bulk of the planned volume and increase of budget incomes. Their profits are planned to rise by 11,500 million crowns, i.e. 7.5 per cent. This is to be achieved primarily by a 1.1 per cent reduction in material outlays, an aim which has so far not been attained in the 1986-1990 plan period.

Non-investment expenditures on social services and works for the population are planned at 186,300 million crowns, i.e. a rise of 5.2 per cent or 9,200 million crowns, which is almost half the overall increase in expenditures.

Externally, Czechoslovakia will seek a long-term balanced development of its foreign currency position. The budget provides for a foreign trade and payments surplus next year which makes it imperative not only to fulfil the tasks of exports but also to achieve the planned foreign currency revenues. Czechoslovak credit policy in relation to foreign countries will also be based on these principles.

### Jakes Attends Session

*LD1412155288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] Deputies of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations are discussing the government draft bill amending and supplementing the Labor Code at their joint session in Prague today.

The session is being attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec; Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly; and members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Ignac Janak, Josef Kempny, Josef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Miroslav Zavadil, and other personalities. [passage omitted]

### Jakes, Others Attend Prague Conference

*LD1412222888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] A state-wide conference with leading secretaries of regional committees and city committees of the party in Prague and Bratislava took place in Prague today. It was chaired by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Present were members and candidate members of the party's Central Committee Presidium, the chairman of the party's Central Control and Auditing Commission, and members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat.

The participants discussed experiences of implementing the party's leading role in securing the tasks of the national economic plan for this year, in the preparation and discussion of the social and economic development plan for next year, and the restructuring of the economic mechanism and of society. At the center of attention at the conference was the preparation of the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the proposal to convene the 18th party congress, the development of the party's internal life, and other topical questions of party work in the present period.

### Jakes Addresses Party Aktiv in Usti Nad Labem

*AU1412121088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 88 p 2*

[Report by CTK and RUDE PRAVO staffers Vaclav Pergl and Karel Rouc: "Comrade Milos Jakes in the North Bohemian Region; Lower Consumption of Energy and Raw Materials through Scientific-Technical Development"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A regional aktiv of party functionaries and ranking economic personnel was held in Usti nad Labem at the end of a working visit by Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to the North Bohemian region on Tuesday [6 December]. Addressing the aktiv, Milos Jakes stressed the region's importance as a crucial component of the fuel-energy base of our national economy and the chemical industry, and thanked all who are successfully participating in ensuring the tasks of these important sectors.

**However, the objective today is not to extract an ever greater quantity of coal or generate more electricity, he continued, but to concentrate on not consuming so much energy and raw materials. The scientific-technical development and the innovation of products must be subordinate to this.** We are still not succeeding sufficiently in this. The scientific-technical base, as well as the creative thinking of technicians and the workers themselves, must play a far greater role in this respect. We must perfect products to such an extent that they will produce favorable comparison in international competition. This is also the purpose of the structural changes in our

economy, of the restructuring of wholesale prices. It will be necessary to further strengthen discipline, demand the fulfillment of duties from everyone, and combat anonymity on all fronts. After all, behind specific shortcomings there are specific persons. Specifically the Communists must stand at the head of all these efforts. We must give the party back its militancy, its irreconcilability toward shortcomings and disorder, further enhance the activity and quality of the party base, and seek new forms of work. The party must be firm and united on the issue of restructuring our society; it must be capable of winning people over to its policy. [passage omitted]

## Hajek 'Cautiously Optimistic' on Reform

*AU1412125188 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 14 Dec 88 p 3*

[APA report: "Hajek Cautiously Optimistic"]

[Excerpts] Vienna—The former CSSR foreign minister and cofounder of the "Charter 77" civil rights movement, Jiri Hajek, described himself as cautiously optimistic about the Prague government's willingness to carry political reforms. The policy of restructuring in the Soviet Union has provided important impulses for the countries of the Eastern alliance, and, in spite of reservations, the CSSR leadership is according significance to this process.

Hajek said this in the course of a lecture at Vienna's Karl Renner Institute yesterday [13 December]. Much now depends on the attitude CSSR society takes toward democratization, and on its ability to force the government to take further steps.

"Great efforts will still be required to develop democratic socialism," the 75-year-old civil rights activist stressed, who has been studying the history of his country since his retirement. "What happens in the Soviet Union today gives rise to hopes that these efforts will be worthwhile."

It is true that the current leadership is casting long shadows, but he does not consider any politician unable to change his course, Hajek emphasized. It is possible that this government is also learning something from history, he pointed out. Today, Prague wants to carry out only economic and institutional reforms, but in the long run it will be necessary to comprehensively democratize the CSSR, he stated. [passage omitted] In conclusion, Hajek stressed that he was glad that Austria shows great interest in developments in the CSSR. He hoped that "the future will offer more opportunities to exchange ideas and culture." The foreign minister of the "Prague Spring," who was allowed to leave his country for the first time in 20 years, will return to the CSSR today after a 10-day visit to Austria.

## Human Rights' Declaration Aniversary Marked

AU1212181088 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 6 December carries on pages 1 and 4 respectively two reports connected with a "scientific conference" marking the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the General Declaration on Human Rights, sponsored by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences [CSAV], the Prague Charles University, the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations, held in Prague on 5 December. One of the reports is an excerpt from a speech at this forum, delivered by Zdenek Ceska, rector of Charles University.

In his 800-word report on page 1 headlined "Scientific Conference in Prague Carolineum; On the Anniversary of the Adoption of the General Declaration of Human Rights," RUDE PRAVO staffer Pavel Novak briefly reviews speeches related to the subject by Milan Matous, member of the Presidium of the CSSR National Front Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR Socialist Academy Central Committee; Eva Beranova of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Josef Mrazek of the State and Law Institute attached to the CSAV; Josef Ondrej, chairman of the CSSR Supreme Court; and Vojtech Tkac of the Central Trade Union Council.

On page 4 RUDE PRAVO carries a 4,000-word excerpt from the main report delivered by Zdenek Ceska, rector of Charles University, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations, and corresponding member of the CSAV.

Ceska, praising the importance of the declaration, says that the "Czechoslovak constitutional concept of the institute of civic rights, freedoms, and duties" contains "the principle of equality, the principle of the unity of rights and duties, the principle of the unity of the fundamental interests of an individual and society. The thing that should be particularly stressed is that these principles exclude an interpretation which could set the interests of an individual against the interests of society, or would facilitate an individualistic misuse of citizens' rights and freedoms to the detriment of other citizens, society, and the state."

Elsewhere in his speech, Ceska notes that "when we say ensuring scope for making use of all rights and freedoms, this does not mean scope for misusing civic rights and freedoms against the interests of society. It does not mean absolutizing civic rights. Because any right, any freedom in every legal state must be applied within the limits or within the framework of the law, within the limits of the legal order." In another part of his speech, Ceska says that new legislation related to elections is being prepared in Czechoslovakia, "in order to ensure a truly effective participation of voters in the entire election process, beginning with the nomination of candidates all the way to the election act itself."

## Forum Issues 'Declaration' on Human Rights

*AU1412145888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 88 p 1*

["Declaration of the Forum of the Czechoslovak Public"]

[Text] We, the participants in the Forum of the Czechoslovak Public, convened by the CSSR National Front Central Committee and the Czechoslovak UN Association on the occasion of the Day of Human Rights, have assembled in Prague on 10 December 1988 in order to jointly commemorate the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the General Declaration on Human Rights.

Our forum is a balanced representation of the Czechoslovak general public and its individual social strata, its political parties, its social, special-interest, religious, and other organizations, and individuals, and people involved in science, arts, culture, and physical education. We declare that we fully support the noble ideas and principles of the General Declaration on Human Rights.

The General Declaration on Human Rights and the accords linked to it are the result of broad international cooperation. Czechoslovakia, one of the first UN member states to have signed and then ratified the international covenant on civil and political rights, the international covenant on economic, social, and cultural rights, and other international accords in this sphere, also stood at the cradle of the Declaration on Human Rights. Likewise, it actively participated in the proceedings and successful conclusion of the CSCE in Helsinki and added its signature to the CSCE Final Act. That is why we state today with profound conviction and satisfaction that our republic—a state with lasting democratic traditions—has made an honorable contribution to these efforts of all democratic mankind.

We are aware that the elimination of exploitation of man by man creates the fundamental prerequisite for providing equal human rights for everybody, without discrimination; and that the development of every individual requires the implementation of civil and political, economic, social, and cultural rights in their entire integrity.

Our Constitution guarantees every citizen a broad complex of human rights and basic freedoms in their entire integrity and inseparability. Its humanitarian essence enables a socialist state to establish prerequisites for the assertion of human rights. We are aware, however, that the practical implementation of these rights has not always been without problems, and is not without problems today. Together with all our citizens, we want to help the advancement of our socialist society to provide everybody with opportunities to fully assert these rights in an indivisible linkage with the fulfillment of their duties toward this society. We support the active involvement of our citizens in the management of social life, in the creation, implementation, and control of policy, and in the administration of public affairs.

In this, we proceed from the principle that human rights can be guaranteed solely in peacetime, since war is the denial of all humaneness. With their initiatives and actual deeds, the socialist countries are clearly proving that even the most basic human right to live cannot be provided for without peace; and the same applies to the equal rights of individuals and nations. We fully support the new, extensive proposals for normalizing the international situation and further easing tension in Europe and in the world that were presented by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly a few days ago.

Realizing the increasingly deepening mutual linkage and interdependence in the world of today, we sincerely avow our support for broad and open cooperation in all spheres, including the humanitarian sphere and all its components (such as contacts between people, a broader distribution of objective information which helps a person to determine his stand in life and his approach to cultural and spiritual values, and also an extensive international exchange in other spheres, for instance in education, as well as ecumenical contacts, contacts in science, physical education, and so forth).

We therefore call upon all states which have not yet done so to sign, ratify, and honorably adhere to the accords and other international legal documents on the entire complex of human rights and humanitarian issues. We invite all democratic forces in the world to unite their efforts in eliminating the gross and mass violations of human rights accompanying the policy of colonialism, aggression, apartheid, and racism.

We ask all the people concerned to respect the nations' inalienable right to freely decide their fate, without any alien interference; to refrain from exerting any kind of pressure in contradiction to this right, including pressure by psychowar; to recognize and respect the right of every nation and individual to live in peace; and to make every effort to contribute, together with us and in the spirit of the declaration and of the other international documents linked with it, toward building a world without violence—toward asserting a comprehensive approach to providing for international peace and security, which should serve as the basis in developing and consolidating the prerequisites needed to fully assert all human rights and freedoms.

In connection with these stands and appeals, in the interest of the further advance of democracy, of the broadest possible provisions for human rights, and of the solution of humanitarian issues, the present gathering has resolved to set up a Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation; it has also approved its structure, with the provision that any further candidacies for membership of this committee should be assessed by the committee itself.

The committee is to establish yet another democratic, all-people's platform for a comprehensive and objective assessment of the existing legal code, and for comparing it with the adopted international commitments and with the implementation of these commitments in asserting man's basic rights in the socialist society and resolving humanitarian affairs. The committee will also observe the fulfillment of international pacts and treaties in the sphere of human rights and the fulfillment of commitments following from the provisions of the Final Act and of documents from the CSCE follow-up meetings; it will deal with issues connected with legal education and social enlightenment, and with the organization of international contacts in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

We are calling upon all representatives of state and social agencies and organizations to establish optimum conditions for fully asserting human rights in our country, and to vigorously contribute toward effectively implementing them in practice.

At the same time, we appeal to every Czechoslovak citizen to contribute to the maximum, within the scope of his activities, toward accomplishing the tasks of social restructuring, and—by actively participating in political decisionmaking— to make full use of his or her rights to further comprehensively develop socialist democracy, human rights and civil freedoms, and social certainties. We are ready to cooperate, on the basis of equal rights, in all sectors of the humanitarian sphere, we are ready to frankly compare the actual practices and existing social systems used to provide for the people's basic rights in life and for the conditions of their existence.

## Human Rights Jubilee 'Abused' by Some Groups

*AU1412161788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 88 p 3*

["(pz)"-signed report: "Anniversary Abused"]

[Text] Prague—The protagonists of so-called independent groups abused the anniversary of the General Declaration on Human Rights by voicing political demands (essentially directed against the current social transformations) in Skroupa Square in Prague's third municipal district on Saturday afternoon [10 December]. As CTK reported, about 1,800 people assembled there to take part in the gathering.

The declarations presented at the rally were characterized by a tendency to exert pressure on the policy of our socialist state, by an endeavor to destabilize the political situation in the country and to agitate the general public in a provocative manner. The speakers demagogically claimed that "the citizens do not trust the state," and demanded that we weaken our defense ability, release some alleged political prisoners, etc. The participants chanted such slogans as "Long live freedom!"; "Long live Charter 77!"; "Long live Masaryk!"; and so forth.

This shows that the initiators of the gathering (for which the Municipal National Committee for Prague's third district has issued a permit) have primarily understood the occasion as an opportunity for unambiguously attacking socialist Czechoslovakia.

## Moscow Sino-Soviet Ministers' Meeting Discussed

*AU1412110988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Dec 88 p 7*

[Jiri Roskot commentary in the "Notes" column: "Preparedness To Act"]

[Text] When the Soviet and the Chinese ministers of foreign affairs parted after their talks in Moscow, they left behind the impression that one can look forward to the future meetings of the two countries' high representatives with optimism. The ministers' meeting, as we know, ended with an agreement on the fundamental issue. It was said that today the role of states is increasingly determined not by military power, but by a complex of political, scientific-technical, cultural, and moral factors. The era of politics of blocs, hegemony, and strength is over.

This means that the Soviet Union and China want to see one another through these values, appreciate them, and help them to become the main channel of mutual contacts. Thus it is logical that the ministers could express the assent of their governments to begin preparations for summit meetings, and such meetings are the sign of healthily evolving relations.

They are also healthy in the sense that the Soviet-Chinese normalization harms none of their neighbors or any third country. This a very important feature of the dialogue between Moscow and Beijing, all the more so because there is still plenty of instability, inequality, and discrimination in the world, and these phenomena were also discussed at the Moscow meeting. They had the opportunity to present the standpoints of their countries on a number of urgent problems, beginning with Afghanistan and ending with Cambodia. However, one must not simplify matters: Not on all issues was agreement reached.

The most substantial thing, very sensitively monitored by "radars" of the world political scene, is that the Soviet Union and China are prepared to resolve all contentious matters through negotiations. When such big powers arrive at a similar conclusion, this adds a considerable measure of tranquility and security to events, not only in Asia, but also in fairly distant parallels and meridians.

## NATO Asked To React to USSR Proposals

*AU1312124688 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Dec 88 p 7*

[Bedrich Zagar commentary in the "Word on the Events" column: "In Unison: Constructively and Boldly"]

[Text] In the past, whenever the Soviet Union presented any disarmament proposals, the West reacted (as a rule) in a most reserved manner; its usual comment was that the

proposals have to be studied in detail. But after the top Soviet representative Mikhail Gorbachev had delivered his speech (announcing the unilateral reduction of Soviet Armed Forces) from the rostrum of the UN General Assembly, a chorus of satisfied and at times even enthusiastic voices resounded in unison: FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl called the planned reduction of USSR conventional forces a significant "step in the right direction"; British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher "warmly received this constructive decision"; and NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner announced that all steps toward a limitation of Warsaw Pact forces are welcome to him. NATO, he said, would analyze the Soviet initiative in detail, and it is also certain to land on the agenda of the current deliberations of the foreign ministers of the NATO states in Brussels.

The Soviet decision and Gorbachev's speech in general offer an extremely significant incentive for developing and crystallizing the idea of new political thinking, in harmony with the current stage of development of the international situation. Mikhail Gorbachev addressed a forum which represented the whole world; thus, it is no exaggeration to say that his speech was, in a way, a key feature of "restructuring" thinking throughout the world. The philosophy of international policy as laid down in his speech is attractive to all states—large and small, developed and developing alike—because it respects the justified interests of every one of them.

M. Gorbachev's approach to the accumulated debt (realistically seen, it cannot be obtained under the present conditions) was of vital importance for the developing world, which fell behind during the colonial period. For the least developed countries, the Soviet Union is prepared to prolong the moratorium on debt repayment up to 100 years; in some instances, it is even prepared to wipe out the entire debt. This comes completely under the thesis that "political problems must be solved politically, and human problems humanely."

However, the passages of greatest interest for Europe were those which spoke of the Soviet decisions in the military sphere. During the next 2 years the Soviet Union will reduce the strength of its Armed Forces by 500,000 men, and also substantially limit the volume of conventional weapons. On the basis of an agreement with its Warsaw Pact allies, the Soviet Union will withdraw six tank divisions from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary by 1991, and the Soviet troops stationed there will be reduced by 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks.

This is the most convincing example of the way the Soviet Union is also implementing its doctrines by practical deeds. It is fighting to push through the idea of maintaining an exclusively defensive army structure and of implementing this idea in practice for everybody to see. The strength of the USSR's Armed Forces in the European part of the country and on the territories of its European allies will be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 fighter aircraft. While the security of the Soviet Union and its allies will continue to be reliable in the future, there is a clear indication of the trend maintaining that it is sufficient to have only those armed forces which are essential for defense purposes.

How will NATO reply to this, the Western public is asking today—surely one cannot expect the Soviet Union to continue unilateral disarmament forever. The West European governments of the NATO member states also have to face these questions. It is alleged that, on the basis of NATO date, certain conservative circles in the West want to prove that the Warsaw Pact will retain its decisive supremacy, despite the reduction in Soviet Army troops and armaments. However, no evasive maneuvering can pass muster before the eyes of the international public. People in the West are finding it increasingly peculiar that the socialist countries are the only ones to come up with disarmament proposals, and that so far the other side has not produced a single constructive proposal. Is the disarmament issue becoming a unilateral affair? Perhaps the West does not want to disarm—in that case, what does it really want? NATO's decisions on modernizing 500-km-range nuclear missiles are obviously counterproductive to the peace effort. But NATO also commits certain "sins" with regard to conventional weapons, for which it should atone. In any case, after the latest USSR gesture, the situation in NATO staff headquarters will become more complicated, for it will be difficult for it to evade the duty to contribute to the constructive disarmament process.

### Vacek, U.S.'s Ridgway Hold Washington Talks

*LD1212215188 Prague CTK in English 2039 GMT 12 Dec 88*

[Text] Washington Dec 12 (CTK correspondent)—Possibilities of expanding Czechoslovak-American relations were discussed between U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Rosanne Ridgway and visiting Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Evzen Vacek here today.

They also exchanged views on some major international issues and stated that a positive development is taking place, which must be supported.

### Mitterrand Speaks on Bilateral Relations

*AU1412100388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 88 p 2*

["Speech" by Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, at gala dinner given in his honor in Prague on 8 December]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, ladies and gentlemen; I feel honored by your invitation to pay a state visit to Czechoslovakia, and I thank you for the invitation on behalf of my country and on my own behalf.

At the same time, I greet and wish all the best to the Czechoslovak people, for whom the French people have had feelings of fellowship and solidarity for a very long time.

I feel with particular intensity the fact that I am here tonight in this city, that has been so magnificently shaped by the European genius which used to freely permeate our continent from one end to the other, regardless of borders. We find ourselves in the very heart of Europe at a moment when there is such interest in the future of this continent, of our Europe. The Czechoslovak Republic has now existed for 70 years, and until now not one high-level French representative has paid an official visit to it. I wished very much to rectify this anomaly at a time when you are celebrating the anniversary of the founding of your Republic. How could I possibly not mention on this occasion those many Frenchmen, several of whom you mentioned, who became imbued with the Czechoslovak cause in the same way as your fellow countrymen who invested their hopes and trust in France.

France stood with all its weight on the side of the young Czechoslovak Republic and to this very day is proud of it: What was discussed was how to support a nation's right to establish a democratic state on its territory. A more just cause does not exist.

Nothing expresses the strength of solidarity between the new state and my country better than the following quote from the "Memoirs" of Tomas Masaryk, the father of modern Czechoslovakia: "In Paris, where I arrived on 7 December 1918, I paid the first official visit to the President of the Republic, Poincare, to thank him for all the support provided to us by France."

For 20 years Czechoslovakia was the only state in this part of Europe which remained democratic among so many other regimes, which were not or were no longer democratic.

And then came Munich, betrayed trust, friendship trampled upon. I still feel it and recall the time when as a student in Paris, I described the shame I felt.

The bonds again strengthened in the struggle against the occupiers. In London, Benes and de Gaulle declared the Munich Agreement invalidated. A battalion of valiant Frenchmen who escaped from POW camps, led by Captain De Lannurien—one of the direct participants here among us today—took part in the Slovak national uprising as early as 29 August 1944. They saw this deed as their moral duty toward the Czechoslovak soldiers who fell in France in 1940 in the battles on the Loire and the Seine, not forgetting those who were on our side in the past war. Many of them are buried in your [as published] country. I am grateful to you for preserving the memory of those who shed their blood in the name of the friendship between our countries.

When I roughly sketched out the development of our relations, I was reminded that everything predestined us more to mutual understanding than to disinterest.

Circumstances decided differently. Our relations were marked not only by the tragic events of 1938, they also suffered greatly through the division of the world and Europe, and through the tension that followed. Despite that, Frenchmen did not stop taking an interest in what was going on in your country. You are certainly aware of the considerable reaction aroused in France by what has been called the Prague Spring, and of the moral prestige which the activities and persons enjoyed, who in our eyes represented values in which we believe and which we will solemnly recall on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Human and Civic Rights of 1789—the freedom of speech, assembly, movement, the right to justice and national sovereignty. You know all this and it would be useless to pass over it in silence. You yourselves—I cited the year 1938—have so much to tell us about the load of that past. However, we respect your sovereignty and I rely on the dialogue which we are starting in order to make progress in exchanging our views.

I have come to Prague with the wish to restore the good cooperation between Czechoslovakia and France, cooperation benefiting our nations and serving to reconcile the divided Europe.

In a situation when immense masses of the population are asserting themselves in the southern hemisphere and when the pressure from the economic superpowers is increasing, will Europe succeed in uniting its forces and taking its fate into its own hands? The time is favorable for this. What seemed to be rigid is beginning to move. Europe is again beginning to become the reality of the future.

In the East, as it is being—although this term little corresponds to geographical facts—there is an emerging endeavor to carry out reforms and national identities are asserting themselves; at the same time everyone realizes that the development of economies, cultural exchange, and the development of ideas and people have to be seen in a perspective of mutual dependence. Is it possible not to rejoice over this? A moment ago you yourself, Mr President, expressed your own and the Czechoslovak authorities' opinion about what should be done.

In the West, the French-Geman reconciliation, an exemplary guarantee for peace and security for all, has paved the way for the establishment of a new community, based on a voluntary enrollment of all members. The twelve countries of the Community are getting ready to tear down the surviving barriers and, beginning with 1993, create a united market, a huge entity with a population of 320 million in which goods and services

will move freely, as well as the citizens—those who are creating, working, trading—in short, those who want to get to know the ways and results of our common historical heritage.

To this Community nothing is as alien as the thought of isolating itself. We want this great market to be opened to any cooperation outside the Community. It is not going to be an economic fortress, as some people are afraid.

The signing of bilateral agreements with your country on 1 October this year is an example of that. A unified, strong Community which is sure of itself will serve European harmony better than divided nations could, nations subject to influences as well as the effects of world competition. Europe today is not threatened by the change which is taking place before our eyes, but by the prolongation of the status quo which would condemn us to immobility at a time when everything around us is on the move.

Since we belong to two allied systems which stand against one another, I want to say that our first task, in my opinion, is to define a new concept of security based on a true equilibrium of power at the lowest level, which would exclude the risk of a surprise attack and a long war—in short, a concept which would ensure mutual trust. This is on the agenda of the talks on conventional forces which, I hope, will begin without delay. The declaration made by Mr Gorbachev yesterday is good news from this point of view. It has to be supported and one has to take part in it. I insisted that it be included within the framework of the 35 countries participating in the CSCE. That is the only place where all European countries meet to discuss the issues which interest them. That is the only place where, if they want to, they can voice their independent decisions.

Despite this, in solidarity with its allies and true to its commitments, France wishes an end to the confrontation of the two blocs in Europe, the existence of which meant and still means a prolongation of the harmful situation that was born of World War II, which we cannot and must not regard as a permanent state of affairs.

In the same spirit, France has come forward with the initiative to invite to Paris next January those states which signed the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which bans the use of chemical weapons, and those states which want to join it. This will be an opportunity to decisively stimulate the Geneva talks on the total elimination of these weapons.

However, to eliminate the risk of confrontation, reducing the level of the arms buildup is not enough. A war is not the result of the existence of weapons. It is brought about by the continuation of our division, as well as by the mistrust and insecurity which beget it. And you know to what extent France, through me, approved the significant progress in the form of the Washington agreement signed by Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Europe that I wish for and toward which France intends to work will be a community of free nations and independent states in which no one will threaten anyone, where the rights of persons will be respected, where no one will be subordinate to the law of another.

Peace among states, freedom for citizens: This is the road we pursue.

I would like to add that culture will play its role in this. By the way, why should some things be banned and inaccessible today, when they were a matter-of-course in the Middle Ages; by this I mean your great King Charles IV, who studied at the Sorbonne, or the disputes elicited in the same place by the theses of the rector of Prague University, Jan Hus, at the end of the 14th century.

Why invoke our common cultural heritage if we let it lay fallow—both in the East and in the West—while we resignedly reach for what comes, above all, from the other side of the Atlantic, where we have many friends, and while we reach for what is borne by technology originating from countries bordering the Pacific Ocean. This is in order, but it would be better if we would obtain it from Europe.

European cultural renaissance is one of the weighty and urgent matters which is at stake at the end of this century. We will preserve our languages, our taste, and our sensitivity only when we support one another and put our stake in the boldest of technologies. Therefore, I proposed what we call audiovisual Eureka, in which enterprises from 18 European countries are taking part and which will use a new high-resolution television system. I said 18 countries. Why could there not be 19, 20, 21, or 22? In this sphere there are no limits.

From where else but Prague, the geographical center of Europe, could I appeal to all people of our continent—be they in the West or in the East, to use the customary expression, from a geographical viewpoint not very accurate, or belonging to the third, neutral and noncommitted Europe, which also has something to say and plays a role—to jointly grasp the historic opportunity to give good direction to developments, I repeat, the direction of peace and freedom.

The congeniality of European neighbors provides the framework and opportunity for resuming dialogue and reviving cooperation betwwen our two countries. The reason that I wanted to have four ministers by my side, as well as an important delegation of chiefs of enterprises and personalities from the cultural sphere, was that I keep in mind the bilateral dimension of our relations.

From the analysis which we carried out in the course of the first day's talks, it arises that together we can do more and better. In the economic and technological spheres it is necessary that our joint projects proceed to the stage of tangible, concrete realization and that we investigate new spheres of cooperation, such as telecommunications, nuclear energy, and the environment.

Regarding the sphere of culture, I want to thank in advance the Czechoslovak authorities for the care they will devote to teaching the French language.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen; I conclude with the wish that French- Czechoslovak dialogue will attain the highest level, and I want my present visit to contribute to the rediscovered European solidarity. I know and value the genius of your people, of your country—the place of so many meetings and clashes, as well as of historical events which have even affected us. They are creative people, firm in their will to be themselves.

I beg of you to kindly raise your glass and toast the following wish: to the friendship of our nations; to their prosperity in a free and peaceful Europe; to the success of our cooperation; to your health, ladies and gentlemen; and to the present and the future of the people, your people, prepared as any proud people filled with hope, as the Czechoslovak people are, to enter a new era.

### Vaclavik Meets PDRY's Ali Salim al-Bid

*LD1312092188 Prague CTK in English*
*0840 GMT 13 Dec 88*

[Text] Aden Dec 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister, Army General Milan Vaclavik, who heads an Army delegation currently on an official friendly visit to Democratic Yemen, has been received by General Secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party 'Ali Salim al-Bid.

The top political representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen informed Milan Vaclavik of the political situation in his country and the tasks of its further development, based on the deepening cooperation with socialist countries. He highly appreciated the development of relations between the two countries and Czechoslovakia's political, military and economic assistance to Democratic Yemen.

## PLO's 'Arafat's Working Visit With Honecker

### Greeted by Fischer

*LD1512084588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0113 GMT 15 Dec 88*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat arrived in the early hours of this morning for a working visit to the GDR. He is taking up an invitation from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR'S Council of State, on whose behalf Foreign Affairs Minister Oskar Fischer gave the statesman a warm welcome. 'Arafat yesterday laid out and justified the Palestinian initiative on a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East in the United Nations General Assembly's Palestine debate in Geneva.

### Received by Honecker

*LD1512091388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0835 GMT 15 Dec 88*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, was received this morning by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. 'Arafat arrived in Berlin during the night for a working visit.

### Honecker Comments on Meeting

*LD1512134088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1110 GMT 15 Dec 88*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, for a friendly exchange of views today.

Yasir 'Arafat thanked Erich Honecker very warmly for the prompt international recognition of the Palestinian state, which he sees as an expression of the GDR's consistent support of the just cause of the Palestinian people. The proclamation of this state expresses the determination of the Palestinian people to realize its right to self-determination. The decisions of the Palestinian National Council in Algiers are aimed at introducing practical measures for opening the doors to a Middle East peace settlement. The PLO is striving for a comprehensive settlement of the conflict, which will guarantee all those involved a life of dignity, liberty, and peace. The Palestinian peace initiative before the UN General Assembly in Geneva once again clearly stressed that the State of Palestine is committed to peaceful coexistence.

Erich Honecker emphasized the GDR's high regard for Yasir 'Arafat's UN speech. The PLO's constructive attitude, already the basis for the Algiers decisions, was convincingly reaffirmed. The GDR suppors the Palestinian peace initiative. The PLO's many efforts to expand political dialogue with the most varied forces are being followed with interest and sympathy. To come closer to peace in the Middle East, however, requires the readiness of all parties to the conflict to approach each other with good intentions and to take account of the just interests of the sides involved. The international recognition of the State of Palestine is an expression of the GDR's close solidarity with the PLO. The GDR will continue in the future to support the struggle of the Palestinian people to implement its inalienable national rights.

Erich Honecker spoke about the important decisions made at the SED Central Committee's Seventh Session. With the convening of the 12th SED Congress and preparations for it, tasks are being tackled that must be accomplished with a view to the year 2000. Erich Honecker pointed to the GDR's successes and experiences in shaping developed socialist society. He explained the GDR's activities toward peace, detente, and disarmament.

The two partners in the talk concurred that further efforts are necessary to stabilize the change from confrontation to detente that has been introduced. Efforts must continue to eliminate the complicated international problems that exist. Positive developments in international relations will also improve the conditions for a just, comprehensive, and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict. The convening of an international peace conference under UN auspices and with participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all other interested parties, including the PLO and Israel, is the appropriate way to such a solution. The U.S. statement that it will hold direct talks with the PLO can only assist this process. In view of the support by the great majority of states for the international Middle East conference, it is now time to take concrete preparatory measures for it.

Taking part in the talk were Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the SED Central Committee; Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs; State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the chancery of the chairman of the State Council; Peter Rabenhorst, deputy director of the international relations department of the SED Central Committee; Reiner Neumann, director of the Near and Middle East Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Peter Bathke, section head in the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee.

Present for the PLO were Sulayman Najjab, Executive Committee member; Dr. Sulayman al-Shurafah, adviser of the chairman of the Executive Committee on Arab Affairs; Akram Haniyah, adviser of the chairman of the Executive Committee on Affairs of the Occupied Territories; and Dr. 'Isam Kamal Salim, PLO ambassador to the GDR.

## Aid for Armenian Earthquake Victims Promised

*AU1312133588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Dec 88 p 1*

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In view of the devastating effect of the earthquake disaster in Armenia, the GDR

Government has decided on measures to aid the earthquake victims. In agreement with the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Associations of the USSR, immediate solidarity aid will be given to the suffering population. Urgently needed pharmaceuticals and food concentrates will be provided.

### Soviet Ambassador Expresses Thanks for Aid

*LD1312141188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1330 GMT13 Dec 88*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Vyacheslav Kochemasov, the USSR ambassador to the GDR, at a press conference in Berlin on Tuesday spoke about the extent of the earthquake disaster in Armenia, the concern and solidarity of the GDR population, and international relief. His country is sincerely grateful to the GDR people for its sincere sympathy expressed in Erich Honecker's telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev.

The ambassador thanked the GDR leadership, the representatives of social organizations, and the thousands of citizens who during visits of condolence to the embassy expressed their sympathy. The GDR was one of the first states to send an aircraft with relief goods—medical supplies and food concentrates—to the earthquake area.

The USSR Embassy received hundreds of letters, telegrams, and telephone calls that affirmed solidarity and offered help. Citizens sent money and warm clothing. Such donations were also received on the Solidarity account 444 'Caucasus' opened by the GDR solidarity committee and German Red Cross.

Vyacheslav Kochemasov said that in connection with the numerous offers of help GDR citizens, mainly doctors and medical personnel, also expressed the wish to give direct help in Armenia. He wanted to take this opportunity to state that at present there is no need for such additional medical help. Likewise the need for blood donations is fully covered at present.

Vyacheslav Kochemasov movingly spoke about offers from GDR citizens to accommodate children from Armenia temporarily. He expressed his sincere thanks for this understanding and compassion.

Immense financial resources are required for the reconstruction. According to first cautious estimates, damage amounts to at least R5 billion. After the tragic events in Armenia, the ambassador emphasized, the unity of the people of the Soviet Union, their willingness to give each other fraternal help at every minute, has once again been proved.

### Honecker Wires Sympathy on USSR Plane Crash

*LD1312232088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 13 Dec 88*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, has sent the following state telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

The news of the aircraft near Leninakan, in which so many helpers tragically lost their lives while on the way to help those affected by the catastrophic earthquake in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic has shaken us.

Please assure the relatives of the victims of the deeply-felt sympathy of the people of the GDR.

### NATO Reaction to Gorbachev Proposals Rebuked

*AU1412103588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 88 p 2*

["He." commentary: "Dissonant Voices"]

[Text] The far-reaching disarmament initiatives which Mikhail Gorbachev presented to the UN General Assembly last Wednesday [7 December] met with a strong response all over the world. Agreement has clearly been dominant. However, there are also dissonant voices.

NATO Secretary General Woerner simply stated that "the Western alliance is not under pressure to act." In Bonn, Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group, does "not see any connection between the unilateral Soviet measures and the NATO decision on the modernization of short-range nuclear weapons." Defense Minister Scholz said in the same vein: "One thing does not have anything at all to do with the other." The planned unilateral reduction of conventional Armed Forces and armaments of the USSR "does not change the threat in principle."

It is generally known that pigheaded people with their demonstrative opposition to disarmament as a whole are rejected by the population in their countries. As the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU wrote, "it is increasingly difficult for them to convince their own voters of the necessity for defense expenditures running into billions." Because of Gorbachev's policy, the "threat" is on the point of "moving more and more into the realm of legend."

However, even though life becomes increasingly difficult for such people as a result of the pressure of the socialist peace initiatives and the opinion and the will of the people, they keep sticking to the old patterns of thought and present new armament programs. They are, as Erich Honecker said at the seventh Central Committee session "those circles that make a profit from armament and who do not like the borders that have developed as a result of World War II and the postwar development in Europe."

The trees of those who continue to count on force will not reach the sky. In particular, they should take into account—in addition to the new disarmament measures—the sentence in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech which unequivocally states: "We will maintain the country's defense capability at a sensible and sufficiently secure level, so that no one is tempted to endanger the security of the USSR and its allies."

The demands on the worldwide movement for disarmament, security, and peace remain great, without any change. The necessity to strengthen socialism in an overall way and to protect it reliably also remains great, without any change.

### USSR Envoy Sends Letter to IPPNW Section

*AU0912163388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Dec 88 p 4*

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, has sent a letter to Moritz Mebel, chairman of the GDR section of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), responding to the concern of the IPPNW, which has been conducting a worldwide campaign for the cessation of all nuclear tests in 1988. The GDR section had sent identical letters to the ambassadors of the United States and the USSR in the GDR, deploring the continuing nuclear explosions.

We understand the concern of the physicians of the republic, the members of the GDR section of the IPPNW, which were voiced in your letter in connection with the continuation of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union and the United States, Kochemasov's letter says. The Soviet side is willing to immediately halt these tests if the other countries do the same. We consider this an urgent step toward ending the nuclear arms race and toward implementing the program of eliminating nuclear weapons all over the world by the year 2000, the USSR ambassador affirms.

The cessation of nuclear tests could considerably contribute to solving the task of reducing the production of nuclear weapons as a whole. There would be the real opportunity of ending the race in developing and perfecting new kinds of nuclear weapons. The containment of the quantitative arms race would also be real. A nuclear test ban would be an important military measure, the letter continues.

The Soviet Union had observed the moratorium on nuclear tests for 1 and ½ years and tried to make the United States follow its example. In view of the continuation of nuclear tests by the United States we were forced to suspend the moratorium; however, this has not changed anything in our attitude aimed at achieving a cessation of all nuclear tests. The USSR is willing to stop at any time the implementation of its program for such tests on the basis of mutuality, Ambassador Kochemasov stresses.

### Honecker Message to IPPNW Representatives

*AU1412152588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 88 p 7*

[ND report: "A Reliable Partner for All Forces of Reason and Realism; Erich Honecker's Message to Representatives of the Physicians' Movement"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent a message to the vice presidents of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) Movement, Lars Engstedt in Sweden and Eliana Travnickova in the CSSR, and to Jos Weerts, chairman of the fourth European IPPNW Symposium, in the Netherlands. In the statement "Second Message to the Statesmen in Europe," the Regional IPPNW Symposium, which took place in Rotterdam in mid-October, had expressed its views on questions of peace and disarmament in Europe and in the world after the conclusion of the INF Treaty. Erich Honecker's message has the following text:

Ladies and gentlemen:
I noted with great interest your declaration of the fourth Regional European IPPNW Symposium, which was distributed as the "Second Message to the Statesmen in Europe," and thank you for it.

In this declaration you rightly draw attention to the vital questions that concern our European continent and all of mankind, since it is necessary to banish the danger of a nuclear holocaust and to shape a peaceful world free of war and violence.

As you know, the government, the people, and the social public of the GDR highly value the work of the IPPNW and its GDR section. Your efforts to keep the world's conscience awake and to mobilize an increasing number of doctors—loyal to their professional ethics—to work for the elimination of all nuclear weapons and for a safe, common European home, meets with our full agreement and support. When you turn to the responsible politicians of all European states with specific demands and proposals, this is evidence of the great sense of responsibility of the physicians united in the European sections of the IPPNW.

The GDR considers safeguarding peace and preventing a nuclear disaster to be a basic principle of its state policy. Therefore, as a country on the borderline between the two military coalitions, it is trying to strengthen trust and security through its policy of dialogue and cooperation, through its own contribution to promoting the disarmament process, and through good-neighborly relations that serve peace. In this respect, I refer not least to the proposals to establish a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical-weapon-free zone in central Europe, and to form a zone of trust and security.

In complete agreement with you, we assess the Treaty between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of the Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as a step that, for the first time, provides mankind with real prospects of living without the nightmare of a nuclear disaster. These prospects must not ever be barred again.

Over the course of this year, the Warsaw Pact states have presented further constructive proposals to continue the disarmament process, for the implementation of which the GDR is doing active work. What is necessary is halving the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and

the United States, while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty, the worldwide banning and destruction of chemical weapons, the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, and a drastic reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The GDR also fully agrees with the call of the IPPNW for a comprehensive nuclear test ban and highly appreciates the effective "Cease-Fire 88-Stop Nuclear Testing" campaign, with which you have repeatedly drawn public attention to the urgency of these disarmament measures.

Rest assured that the GDR will continue to work with initiative and energy for a peaceful future of mankind and to be a reliable partner for all forces of reason, realism, and goodwill.

I wish you and all European physicians working in the IPPNW much success and all the best in our common endeavors.

E. Honecker

## Reportage on Dizdarevic Visit Continues

### Joint Communique on Visit

*AU1312130488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Dec 88 pp 1,3*

["Joint Communique on the official friendship visit of Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, to the GDR from 7 to 9 December 1988"]

[Text] At the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, paid an official friendship visit to the GDR from 7 to 9 December 1988.

Raif Dizdarevic laid a wreath at the memorial for the victims of fascism and militarism. The high Yugoslav guest signed the Golden Book of the GDR capital city of Berlin. The president of the SFRY Presidency and his entourage visited Potsdam Bezirk and acquainted themselves with the social and economic development of the GDR.

Erich Honecker and Raif Dizdarevic signed the "Long-term Program of Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the GDR and the SFRY for the Period Through the year 2000." They assessed the state of relations between the GDR and the SFRY, discussed possibilities and main directions of their further shaping, and dealt with topical international problems. They briefed each other on the social development in the two friendly countries.

I.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, noted with satisfaction that the relations between the GDR and the SFRY are developing successfully and have reached a high level.

They stressed the universal and lasting importance of the principles of mutual respect of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equal rights, and noninterference in internal affairs, as they were affirmed during the meeting between Erich Honecker and Josip Broz Tito.

In the talks they expressed the mutual readiness to further consolidate and deepen the friendly relations and overall cooperation on the basis of these tested principles and of the agreements concluded between the two leading representatives of both countries.

Both sides highly valued cooperation between the supreme people's representative bodies and between the state organs and institutions, relations with the republics and regions of the SFRY, and relations at the local level. An important contribution to the development of the friendly relations is made by the successful cooperation between the SED and the LCY and between the social organizations. Both sides expressed increasing interest in continuing the political dialogue at all levels, in further expanding direct contacts, and in exchanging experiences.

During the talks particular attention was paid to economic relations. It was noted that these relations are developing successfully and that both countries are important trading partners who complement each other with respect to the scope and structure of trade. Both sides stressed that there are real opportunities and requirements as well as mutual interest concerning the further development of economic relations, in particular in the form of long-term cooperation.

They expressed the conviction that the "Long-term Program of Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the GDR and the SFRY for the Period Through the Year 2000" will contribute to further expanding economic relations and making them even more effective.

Both sides stressed that the existing long-term agreements in the fields of basic and chemical industries and of industrial cooperation, specialization, and cooperation are essential elements of the economic relations and prove to be factors of their stability.

They paid tribute to the results of scientific-technological cooperation and considered it necessary to further raise its contribution to developing long-term industrial cooperation.

They stressed the readiness to make further efforts on the basis of equal rights and mutual benefits to ensure long-term stability and continuity in the development of economic cooperation. In this respect, expanding trade and developing long-term forms of cooperation are particularly important.

The interlocutors attached great importance to the forthcoming consultations of the planning, foreign trade, and economic organs and economic organizations of the two countries on the main directions of economic and scientific-technological cooperation for the 1991-95 period. They paid tribute to the work of the Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation of the two countries and to the work of its working organs. During the visit working guidelines for focal tasks for the further development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation were coordinated. Furthermore, an agreement on the continuation of the aluminum general accord for the 1990-94 period was signed.

Erich Honecker and Raif Dizdarevic expressed their satisfaction about the high level of cultural and scientific cooperation and of the relations in the fields of education, the information, consular, and health sectors, and sports. They spoke in favor of consistently continuing them and making them even more effective in order to promote the process of getting acquainted and of creating understanding among the peoples of the two countries and contribute to consolidating the friendly relations. The information agreement signed by the GDR and SFRY foreign ministers during the visit will further improve the conditions for cooperation in the information sector.

II.

During their extensive exchange of views on topical international questions, Erich Honecker and Raif Dizdarevic noted with satisfaction that, although the international relations continue to be complicated, an easing of tensions and an improvement in the political climate in the world are emerging. This process is characterized by turning away from the policy of confrontation, by intensifying the political dialogue, by negotiations, mutual understanding, and expansion of cooperation.

This opens up new opportunities for a democratization of international life as a precondition for just relations in the world, including the right of all states to participate on an equal footing in solving international problems, in particular those that touch upon their immediate interests. In this connection, the work of the United Nations to consolidate the positive tendencies in international relations and to strengthen peace and security is playing an increasing role.

The GDR and the SFRY will continue to emphatically advocate promoting the initiated positive changes in international relations and making them irreversible. In this connection both sides assessed positively the coming into force of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which paves the way for further far-reaching disarmament steps.

Both sides spoke in favor of accelerating the disarmament process both in the nuclear and in the conventional area. In this connection they positively assessed the decision of the Soviet Government to unilaterally reduce armed forces and conventional armaments, which was announced by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the 43d UN General Assembly on 7 December 1988. They expressed the view that a 50-percent reduction of the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States is of essential importance for continuing the process of nuclear disarmament.

They spoke in favor of initiating steps toward a complete nuclear test ban, a ban on chemical weapons, and the prevention of the arms race in space.

Erich Honecker and Raif Dizdarevic stressed the importance of regional initiatives to develop the overall cooperation among the states, to establish nuclear-free and chemical-weapons-free zones of trust and security in Europe. At the same time they advocated the establishment of the conditions necessary for this purpose. The implementation of these initiatives would promote the positive processes on this continent and would, at the same time, contribute to completely freeing the world of such mass destruction weapons.

The highest representatives of the GDR and the SFRY stressed the interest of their countries in continuing and deepening the CSCE process. They advocated the fastest possible conclusion of the Vienna meeting with a substantive and balanced document in order to provide new stimuli to the process of confidence-building, security, and cooperation in Europe.

Erich Honecker and Raif Dizdarevic pointed to the urgency of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe and to the necessity of starting corresponding negotiations as soon as possible.

Erich Honecker and Raif Dizdarevic welcomed the emerging progress in the search for solutions to existing regional conflicts. They consistently advocate the solving of all problems by political means with the participation of all interested sides and by taking into consideration their legitimate interests.

The interlocutors paid tribute to the independent role of the Nonaligned Movement, its active work, and its increasing influence in the current phase of international relations. The principles on which its policy is based are increasingly confirmed by the development of international cooperation and the reduction of confrontation.

The GDR and the SFRY think that closer cooperation among all states is necessary in order to preserve peace and security and to solve elementary vital questions of mankind. Accelerating the economic development—in particular that of the developing countries, restructuring international economic relations in a democratic way—especially solving questions such as the foreign debts of the developing countries, financing development, eliminating protectionism, environmental protection, and solving other important international problems require more intensive efforts by the international community.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, expressed their satisfaction about the talks and meetings, which took place in a cordial and open atmosphere and in the spirit of understanding, mutual respect, and the traditional friendly affinity of the two countries. They concurrently assessed this meeting as a great contribution to further shaping the overall friendly relations and cooperation between the GDR and the SFRY and to strengthening peace, security, and equal international cooperation.

Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, invited Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to visit the SFRY. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

### List of Figures Attending Talks

*AU1412152988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 88 pp 1, 3*

[Text] East Berlin—During their first official round of talks on Wednesday afternoon [7 December] at the official seat of the State Council, Erich Honecker and Raif Dizdarevic discussed the current level and opportunities for expanding bilateral cooperation and briefed each other on social development in their countries. [passage omitted]

Participants in the talks were from the GDR: Guenter Mittag, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Soelle, member of the SED Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR section of the GDR-SFRY Joint Committee for economic and scientific-technological cooperation; Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee and foreign minister; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, member of the SED Central Committee, state secretary, and head of the office of the GDR State Council chairman; Kurt Fenske, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign trade; and Siegfried Bock, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the SFRY.

From the SFRY the following people were present: Janez Zemljaric, deputy chairman of the SFRY FEC; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Milan Predojevic, SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR; Dragomir Vucicevic, foreign policy advisor of the president of the SFRY Presidency; and Dusan Francuski, department head in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

### Austria's Vranitzky Comments on Relations

*AU1212174588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Dec 88 p 6*

[Werner Micke report: "Interview on Security and Cooperation at Vienna Ballhausplatz—Chancellor Franz Vranitzky: Our Relations With the GDR Are Exemplary"]

[Text] A country like Austria can only develop well under stable and peaceful international framework conditions, says Chancellor Dr Franz Vranitzky. Following the weekly cabinet meeting and the subsequent press briefing, he receives journalists from the GDR, who are visiting Austria at the invitation of Austria's Federal Press Service, in his office at Vienna Ballhausplatz.

He says that in this sense, Austria can consider the year 1988, which is ending now, as a good year. The chancellor stresses that he considers the INF Treaty a very decisive step which after decades of negotiations on arms control has led to genuine and concrete disarmament steps. Austria is interested in maintaining a balance of forces, that helps prevent conflicts, on the lowest possible level—not only in the nuclear but also in the conventional field. Austria is at any rate prepared to contribute to this process, wherever this is possible. The Austrian chief of government stresses that he shares many people's hopes that the negotiations in other arms areas now make quick headway as well.

#### Role of Mediator at the CSCE Meeting

At this point, nearby Hofburg comes into focus, where the CSCE follow-up meeting is being held, which has still not been concluded and has therefore not given a mandate for new negotiations on a reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. The chancellor regrets that after the encouraging situation early in the fall, the process has stagnated because of discrepancies among NATO countries. However, he is hopeful. He says that the year has not yet ended. He asked the Austrian chief negotiator to make every effort as a host in the interests of mediation. In trying to find solutions at the meeting, the Austrian delegation has always cooperated with the delegations of the neutral and nonaligned states and other countries. Vranitzky stresses in this context that cooperation with the GDR has always been good during the meeting.

The fact that the Vranitzky government which moved into Ballhausplatz in 1986 has reached the first half of its term, and the forthcoming end of the year seem to be

reason enough to take stock. The chancellor says that the population can be satisfied. He points out in particular the prospective 3 and ½ percent growth rate. The rate of price increases amounts to 1.7 percent, and unemployment to 5.6 percent, which is half as high as the average percentage in EC countries.

That brings us to the issue of Austria's possible membership in the EC, currently a subject of heated debates in the country. The chancellor stresses that the frontline runs right across all camps. Industry mostly is in favor of membership, the farmers, the leftists, and lately also representatives of the churches are opposed. Some people say, why should we become a member?, we are surely not badly off. Others say, why not apply for membership?, and then let's see what happens. Vranitzky says that as of January, Parliament will extensively deal with the problem as to whether the Austrian Government should enter into negotiations with the EC or not. If such negotiations were to be held, they would presumably take several years, and once the conditions of membership have taken clear shape, a decision must be made on the problem.

The chancellor says that the most important aspect is that Austria will under no circumstances give up its permanent neutrality. Vranitzky says that if the issue boils down to EC membership or neutrality, we will decide in favor of neutrality. Another important aspect of the decision on the possible membership in the EC is for his government the traditional role of mediator between East and West. Vranitzky says that because of its history and its geographical location, Austria holds particular responsibility and must make sure that no new dividing lines be created toward the other side as a result of advancing integration on the other side. The Austrian statesman says that his country has always had in mind an all-European concept and will continue to do so.

The chancellor likes to remember the official visit he paid to the GDR this year. He says that the relations between the two countries which have developed in recent years are exemplary. They are good and intensive in all areas, he says. Nice successes have in particular been achieved in the economic and cultural fields. The personal relations which have developed in the wake of cooperation, are a very strong link, says the chancellor. What has been achieved in the political, economic, and cultural fields allows us to say that we have a first-class relationship, says Vranitzky.

**Development of Contacts Between the Parties**

As chancellor, Dr Vranitzky is also SPOe chairman. He says that he also discussed with Erich Honecker the development of contacts between the parties. The parties' scientific institutes also maintain good relations, he says. The SPOe also sent two representatives to the International Meeting on Nuclear-Free Zones held in Berlin in the summer of this year.

The chancellor describes Austria's present role in the world by three concentric circles which show the focal points of its foreign policy. The first one covers the cultivation of good-neighborly relations, the second everything that serves the spirit of peace, stability, and cooperation on our continent, and the third Austria's commitment in all international affairs, active cooperation in international organizations and meetings, support for human rights in the international scope, and cooperation in the search for peaceful solutions to hotbeds of crisis and conflict. Summing it up, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky says that Austria considers it its obligation to actively contribute to the preservation of peaceful conditions.

### Finnish Experts at Radiation Protection Center

*AU0912151688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Dec 88 p 2*

[Text] East Berlin—On Thursday [1 December], a delegation of representatives of the Radiation Protection Center and the Finnish Foreign Ministry held negotiations in the GDR State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection in Berlin. The talks were designed to deepen the contacts in the field of nuclear safety and radiation protection.

### Berlin Paper, KIRCHE, Censored

*AU1312112188 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 13 Dec 88 p 2*

["Hz" report: "Yet Another Church Paper Censored in GDR"]

[Text] Berlin/GDR—A new case of state censorship involving one of the five GDR church papers has been made public. The Berlin weekly, KIRCHE, with a circulation of over 40,000, had to change its latest edition. According to its editor-in-chief, two reports had to be canceled and one advent commentary had to be shortened. Those reports that had to be canceled were one on the nomination of a bishop of the German-Lutheran Community in the Latvian capital of Riga, and another one on the 60th birthday of Soviet writer Chingiz Aytmatov, a supporter of Gorbachev's reform policy. A passage referring to the desire for social changes had to be cut out of the commentary.

### Government Issues Statement on Human Rights

*AU1312131088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Dec 88 p 2*

["GDR Government Statement on the 40th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights"]

[Text] On 10 December 1988 there is the 40th anniversary of the day, on which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted as a programmatic UN document. It is a milestone in the history of this organization. Based on the experiences gained in World War II and in the period of fascist terror, in which the most elementary human

rights were violated a millionfold, the members of the United Nations formulated this declaration. Since then, the individual's right to a life in peace has been the supreme command for the peoples in the world. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is based on the UN Charter, in which the safeguarding of peace and the implementation of human rights are anchored as outstanding goals.

The GDR, too, allows itself to be guided by the fact that the right to a life in peace is the fundamental human right. Together with the other Warsaw Pact states, it therefore advocates the elimination of all nuclear weapons, arms limitation and disarmament in the conventional area, and the establishment of a comprehensive system of world peace and international security.

This is the decisive precondition for solving such global human problems as the elimination of underdevelopment, hunger, disease, illiteracy, homelessness, and the protection of the natural environment.

For the GDR, the insight—based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—that all social, economic, cultural, civil, and political rights are a single unit is an essential element of its policy in this area. Therefore, the GDR has joined the two human rights conventions worked out within the framework of the United Nations in 1966.

Over the 39 years of its existence, the GDR has made great and successful efforts to implement human rights. Thus, a society was established in which exploitation of man by man has been eliminated and in which man's creative skills can be fully developed. Human existence is based on work, and therefore the right to work as well as the right to life and peace are part of the basic human rights in our socialist state. Only work makes possible the creative development of human skills, social security and protection, equal access to education and culture—regardless of one's social origin, wealth, ideology, and religion—equal rights for women, and comprehensive basic rights for youth. At the same time, it is the basis for all socioeconomic rights, for the success of our course of the unity of economic and social policy. This course is expressed in the improvement of working and living conditions according to plan, free medical care, preventive health care, ensuring social insurance and social care during old age and invalidism, provision of housing, ensuring leisure time and recreation, the expansion of the network of state-owned and other social recreation and vacation centers according to plan, comprehensive protective and promotional measures for mothers and children, generous support for young couples, and the promotion of the citizens' participation in cultural life, in physical culture, and sports.

Equally important for the practical application of human rights is the guaranteeing of the citizens' political and personal basic rights, which are anchored in the Constitution. The extensive development of socialist democracy requires and promotes varied individual forms of participation on the part of the people in shaping social life, initiatives, and active work. The right to participate in decisionmaking, to the inviolability, freedom, and dignity of the individual, to freedom of conscience, religion, belief, and opinion, the inviolability of the secrecy of mail and telecommunications, the right to freedom of movement, personal property, and comprehensive legal security for every citizen are the bases for this.

In the 40th year of the existence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international community is called upon to intensify the struggle against mass violations of human rights, with which the peoples' right to self-determination is trampled upon through racial discrimination, apartheid, colonialism, aggression, and occupation, and is called upon to eliminate the policy of force.

What is necessary is the intensification and deepening of constructive international cooperation in the spirit of the noble ideals of the Declaration, in order to implement the generally recognized international standards as they are contained in the Declaration and in the two UN human rights conventions of 1966.

Proceeding from the requirement of the nuclear and space age to pursue the conflict between the social systems solely by means of peaceful competition, and from the insight that competition and cooperation in international relations form a unit, the GDR considers it necessary to develop human rights issues into a field of dialogue and cooperation.

The principles of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act and the respect for different social systems, different values, and different concepts of human rights are the bases for this.

## Resolution on Electoral Commission Reported

*AU1412123388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 88 p 2*

["State Council Resolution on the Formation of the Electoral Commission of the Republic of 12 December 1988"]

[Text] 1. In accordance with sections 11 and 12 of the law of 24 June 1976 on the elections to the local elected assemblies of the GDR—electoral law—(Legal Gazette I No 22, p 301) in its amended form of 28 June 1979 (Legal Gazette I No 17, p 139), the Electoral Commission of the republic is formed for the elections to the kreis assemblies, city assemblies, city district assemblies, and municipal assemblies on 7 May 1989.

2. In order to fulfill its tasks, the Electoral Commission of the republic issues guidelines and sets down stipulations that are binding to the local electoral commissions and state organs.

3. At the proposal of the National Council of the GDR National Front, the following people are appointed to the Electoral Commission of the republic:

Chairman of the Electoral Commission of the republic:
Egon Krenz, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council;
Deputy chairmen of the Electoral Commission of the republic:
Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee;
Monika Berckholtz, economist, Nennhausen Crop Production LPG, Rathenow Kreis, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany;
Erwin Binder, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany;
Horst Bruenner, deputy defense minister and chief of the Main Political Administration of the National People's Army, member of the SED Central Committee;
Fritz Dallmann, chairman of the Priborn Crop production LPG, Roebel Kreis, member of the SED Central Committee, member of the GDR State Council, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association;
Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee;
Arno Donda, head of the State Central Administration for Statistics;
Heike Eckhardt, knitter, VEB Polar, Karl-Marx-Stadt;
Heinz Fahrenkrog, chairman of the GDR Consumer Cooperatives Association;
Heinrich Gemkow, deputy director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute attached to the SED Central Committee, vice president and member of the Presidium of the GDR Cultural League;
Jurij Gross, first secretary of the Domowina;
Guenter Hartmann, deputy chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany;
Wolfgang Heyl, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany;
Werner Kirchhoff, vice president and chairman of the Secretariat of the National Council of the GDR National Front, candidate member of the SED Central Committee;
Kurt Kleinert, state secretary and head of the Secretariat of the GDR Council of Ministers;
Norbert Kulik, secretary of the FDJ Central Council;
Marga Legal, actress;
Ute Michael, mayor of Daberkow, Demmin Kreis;
Margitta Otte, chairwoman of the Jessen Kreis Council;
Carola Petermann, kindergarten teacher, chairwoman of Residential District Committee 002 of the GDR National Front in Berlin-Treptow;
Ingeborg Podssuweit, city district mayor of Berlin-Weissensee;
Hans-Dieter Raspe, deputy chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany;
Sylvia Retzke, mayor of Dessau;
Eva Rohmann, secretary of the National Executive Committee of Democratic Women's League;
Dietmar Schauerhammer, member of the National People's Army, "Vorwaerts" Accident Prevention Commis sion, Oberhof;
Heinrich Scheel, president of the GDR Historians' Association, ordinary member of the GDR Academy of Sciences;
Peter Schrimpf, priest, Rangsdorf parish, Zossen Kreis;
Angelika Schueler, enterprise engineer, VEB Petrochemical Combine, Schwedt, candidate member of the FDGB Central Executive Council;
Ekkehard Schweitzer, chairman of the Artisan Producer Cooperative of the "1 May" Electrical and Radio Mechanical Crafts, Hagenow;
Klaus Sorgenicht, director of the State and Legal Matters Department of the SED Central Committee, member of the GDR State Council;
Gerhard Voss, engine operator, VEB Electricity-Coal, Berlin-Lichtenberg, member of the FDGB Central Executive Council;
Theodor Weinrich, head of the United Church and Monastery Chamber, Erfurt;
Dieter Winderlich, deputy interior minister;
Marianne Wuenscher-Pietsch, actress, Volksbuehne Berlin;
Kurt Zahn, member of the Presidium and secretary of the FDGB Central Executive Council.
Secretary of the Electoral Commission of the Republic: Hans-Joachim Semler, director of the State and Legal Matters Department of the GDR State Council.
Berlin, 12 December 1988
E. Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council;
H. Eichler, secretary of the GDR State Council.

## FRG's Genscher Speaks With Top Officials

### Discusses Disarmament With Varkonyi

*LD1412204188 Budapest MTI in English 1557 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—As reported earlier, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and minister for foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, arrived in Budapest for a one-and-a half day official visit on Wednesday [14 December]. He is being accompanied by his wife, Barbara, and some senior officials from the Foreign Ministry.

At Budapest's Ferihegy Airport, the foreign minister and his entourage met Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi and his wife, and some senior officials of the Foreign Ministry. Then the guests, accompanied by their hosts, drove to Mr Genscher's residence, the government's guest house. The two foreign ministers held a 45-minute talk of limited attendance, and then the members of the two negotiating delegations were involved in the talks.

Besides Mr Varkonyi, the Hungarian delegation included Erno Horvath, head of the relevant regional department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Istvan Horvath, ambassador of Hungary to the FRG. The FRG delegation included Wilhelm Hoynck, head of the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry, Christoph Derix, head of the relevant regional department, and Hans-Alfred Steger, ambassador of the FRG to Hungary.

The talks of limited attendance focussed on international affairs, and the plenary talks on bilateral relations.

Mr Genscher gave a positive assessment to the latest peace initiatives by Mikhail Gorbachev, the announcement of unilateral cuts in the Soviet Armed Forces. According to Bonn, this step created new opportunities for talks on conventional disarmament. Mr Genscher stressed the wish of the government of the FRG to bring the Vienna follow-up meeting to a successful conclusion in late December or early January, because the FRG regards the draft final document, elaborated by the neutral and non-aligned countries, as a suitable basis for consensus. The Hungarian foreign minister also gave a favourable assessment to the development of the international situation this year, stressing that the trend of disarmament had come into the foreground. Hungary supports Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals for reducing conflicts. Mr Varkonyi assured his guest that the countries of the Warsaw Treaty were also striving for the earliest possible conclusion of the Vienna meeting.

Mr Varkonyi recalled that the Hungarian Government had expressed an interest in taking part in the first stage of the disarmament of conventional armed forces. He added that Mr Gorbachev had announced unilateral steps, so it would be favourable if NATO reacted with similar, positive, unilateral steps to the Soviet initiative.

Mr Genscher expressed the wish of his government that an agreement should be reached on a 50 per cent reduction in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive weapons. Bonn would welcome it if the Soviet Union, in a move to build confidence in Europe, reduced the number of its short-range nuclear weapons. Both sides emphasized the significance of the Geneva conference on the abolition of chemical weapons.

Mr Varkonyi said that the Hungarian Government supported the idea of holding the European experts' conference on humanitarian issues in Moscow. Mr Genscher also supported the idea, providing that the conditions of the Moscow event, mainly the openness of the consultation, are identical to those of the Paris and Copenhagen consultations on similar issues.

The parties held discussions on the planned integration of the Common Market in 1992, and the opportunities for cooperation between the European communities and the CMEA. The Hungarian side emphasized that the country would like to have the advantages rather than the disadvantages of the integration of the Common Market. Mr Genscher said that the endeavours of the Common Market were aimed at connecting, rather than separating, the European countries. The FRG had offered to create an opportunity for consultation for Hungary, he said, so that Budapest should be kept informed about the EEC's endeavours for harmonization. The Hungarian foreign minister expressed his thanks for the offer.

The sides stated that bilateral relations were developing dynamically in all walks of life. As a sign of that, the two foreign ministries fixed in a verbal note that next year Hungary would open a consulate general in Munich, and the FRG one in Pecs. Hungary will continue to strive to reduce the deficit of its trade with the FRG, its largest capitalist partner. Mr Genscher said he appreciated the opening of the cultural institute of the FRG in Budapest, and said that the FRG would grant continued support for preserving the national identity of Germans in Hungary.

After the plenary talks, Mr Varkonyi and Mr Genscher signed a protocol on holding consultations between the two Foreign Ministries.

### Comments on 'Positive' Relations

*LD1412153988 Hamburg DPA in German 1435 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Budapest (DPA)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher expressed the opinion in Budapest on Wednesday that a dynamic development in the EC also would have a positive effect on East-West relations. In an exchange of thoughts with his Hungarian counterpart, Peter Varkonyi, at the beginning of a 30-hour visit to Budapest, Genscher explained the Federal Republic's standpoint on East-West relations.

Genscher, who arrived in the Hungarian capital amid bright sunshine, said that the economic and political opening of the East ran parallel to dynamic development in the EC. The foreign minister said: "All that is a challenge for us."

In this connection, Genscher underlined the establishment of closer links between the EC and the CEMA, and especially the official contacts between the EC and Hungary. Hungary was the first Eastern bloc country to establish relations with the EC.

According to Genscher, the Federal Republic and Hungary were of the opinion that the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna should be brought to a positive conclusion as soon as possible. They stressed that "the conclusion of the Vienna conference should not be placed on the back burner." Directly afterward, negotiations should be started on the reduction of conventional arms throughout Europe.

Genscher paid tribute to party chief Mikhail Gorbachev's resolution to reduce unilaterally Soviet troops as an "important step." The Soviet Union's superiority in this area could thus be reduced. [passage omitted]

Genscher and Varkonyi described the development of relations between the Federal Republic and Hungary as very positive. Relations are to be expanded even further. [passage omitted]

### Holds Talks With Grosz, Nemeth

*LD1412214088 Budapest MTI in English 2002 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—On Wednesday, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany.

During the cordial talks, the HSWP general secretary stressed Hungary's wish to participate effectively in the European processes, and promote the cooperation of the peoples and states on the continent. The renewal of Hungarian society and the consistent pursuance of economic and political reforms partly serves this end.

Herr Genscher expressed the FRG's sympathy for the efforts to stabilize the Hungarian economy and create a varied political life. He also welcomed Hungary's realistic and open foreign policy.

The negotiating parties emphasized that relations between Hungary and the FRG were developing favourably in all areas. Their peaceful cooperation based on traditional sympathy and mutual interests goes a long way to serve the cause of cooperation between the two peoples and Europe. They agreed that the Hungarian changes would furnish new opportunities for the continued expansion of links.

Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Herr Genscher in parliament. The central theme of the cordial talks was the evenly dynamic development of bilateral ties.

It was stated that the growing opportunities for the formation of joint ventures may encourage the continued development of economic cooperation. The sides stressed their common essential interest in enhancing the positive tendencies of international relations, in unfolding the process of detente and in extending it to the entire system of international links.

Both meetings were attended by Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, Hans-Alfred Steger, ambassador of the FRG to Hungary, and Istvan Horvath, ambassador of Hungary to the FRG.

Also in parliament on Wednesday, Herr Genscher met Matyas Szuros, chairman of the Foreign Affairs committee of the National Assembly.

Mr Szuros said that links with the FRG were very much appreciated in Hungary, partly because of the active contribution of the Bonn government to establishing relations between Hungary and the Brussels-based European communities.

He said Hungary's foreign policy has been recently marked by a strengthening national character and an opening up. Under the policy of opening up, the Hungarian leadership is making increased efforts to contact Hungarians living abroad. In this context, he said a law on emigration and immigration was to be drafted.

In connection with the minority issue, Mr Szuros said that the support given by the FRG in this field was held in high esteem in Hungary, and pointed out the personal role of Herr Genscher in the pope's speaking out recently for the minorities. Both negotiating parties stated that the Romanian village-razing affects most heavily the minorities living there. They established that even if the implementation of the village-razing schemes slow down under the pressure of international public opinion, the danger of forcible assimilation will continue to exist.

### FRG Minister Signs Environment Protocol

*LD1212155088 Hamburg DPA in German 1437 GMT 12 Dec 88*

[Text] Bonn/Budapest (DPA)—Federal Environment Minister Klaus Toepfer (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union], at the start of his 2-day official visit to Hungary, today signed the bilateral agreement on the future cooperation in environmental protection agreed on in the autumn. His colleague Laszlo Marothy, signed for the Hungarian Government.

After the agreements with the GDR, the Soviet Union, and CSSR, this is the fourth agreement with a socialist country to cooperate more closely in the environment sector. An agreement with Poland is to be signed next year.

### Pozsgay Speaks at Austro-Hungarian Symposium

*AU1312142088 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 9 Dec 88 pp 1-2*

[APA report: "Vienna-Budapest Exposition as 'Bridge Into the Future'"]

[Text] Budapest/Vienna—The planned Austro-Hungarian World Exhibition will be a model of cooperation between two countries with totally different social and political systems and can form a "bridge into the future." This was stressed by Minister of the Chancellery Heinrich Neisser in Budapest on Thursday [8 December].

At a symposium on the subject "Austria-Hungary: Example of a Neighborhood in Europe" Neisser stressed that Austria considers itself as a member of the European culture area and of West European democracy. The exhibition project for 1995 can contribute to underscoring the concept of central Europe in opposition to the forthcoming division of Europe.

Budapest State Minister Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Politburo, explained the planned political reforms in Hungary. He also stressed the common heritage of Austria and Hungary. This heritage is the unity of being central European and all-European, which made it possible for the peoples to rise above the division and the logic of blocs and to make this the basis of their dialogue.

According to the official Hungarian news agency MTI, Hungary's architects have meanwhile written an open letter against choosing Gazdagret as the location for the World Exhibition in Budapest.

### Technical Cooperation With USSR Sought

*AU0912135688 Budapest MTI in English 2106 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 07/12/88—The transformation processes taking place in the Soviet Union and the reform processes in Hungary provide a basis for further developing cooperation between the two countries states the summary of the two-day conference which ended on Wednesday in Budapest with a closing session in the House of Friendship. The representatives of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society and the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society organized the conference to discuss the development of technical and scientific cooperation and the new-type inter-company relations. 26 contributions were heard, and speakers called attention to the fact that objectivity is required when judging relations, and an important task of the friendship societies is to promote coordination and the flow of information. Although major results have been achieved on the basis of the economic and technical relations of the two countries, they are not sufficient for further development. A pressing task is to seek ways and means of developing contacts.

It was also noted at the conference that a new manner of cooperation is needed in the realization of the complex programme until the year 2000.

### Nemeth Holds Talks With U.S. Businessmen

*AU0912135488 Budapest MTI in English 2101 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 07/12/1988—Leaders and experts of the American Seagram and Du Pont firms held talks on business opportunities in Hungary, in Budapest from December 4 to 7. The delegation, led by Stephen Herbits, acting deputy chairman of the Seagram, and Felix Zumulzu, East European manager of the Geneva Centre of the Du Pont Firm, examined the possibilities of using peak technology of membrane straining in Hungary. The procedure is suitable for the production of low alcohol-content wines, fruit juice concentrates, and for thickening grape-juice. The businessmen visited several Hungarian wine complexes.

The American delegation met Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Jeno Vancsa, minister of Agriculture and Food, and held talks with Deputy Minister of Trade Zoltan Gombocz.

### Foreign Investment Protection Bill Formulated

*LD1412154588 Budapest MTI in English 1217 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Budapest, December 14, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The draft of a bill to guarantee the safety of the investment of foreigners in Hungary has been worded and it now awaits the decision of the December session of parliament. If approved, the law can take effect on January 1, 1989.

The bill comprises chapters on joint ventures [JV] from the recently approved act on business associations, the relevant provisions of the law on corporate profit tax, and the regulations of founding and operating joint ventures.

The bill allows for joint ventures of exclusively or predominantly foreign ownership to founded, provided they have the permission of the Ministries of Finance and of Trade. If the two ministries fail to respond within 90 days, the application can be regarded as approved.

In case of minority foreign capital involvement the JV has to be registered only with the court of registration.

The general provisions of the bill promulgate that foreigners' investments in Hungary enjoy full protection and security.

The foreign investor shall be completely and immediately indemnified for any damage caused by nationalization or expropriation, and damages are payable in the currency of investment.

The bill pronounces, in conjunction with the act on business association, that associations operating with foreign capital involvement, can take part in the formation of other business associations and also form such associations themselves. However, corporations owned predominantly or exclusively by foreigners cannot obtain majority shares in other corporations.

The foreigner's share from the JV profits is freely transferable to any other country in the currency of investment. The same applies to the case of termination or sale of all or part of the joint venture, in which event the foreign investor can have his share in the currency of investment.

**Comparison of Horn Interview**

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 10 December on page 10 carries a 1,000-word interview with Foreign Affairs State Secretary Gyula Horn by Andras Kanyo, under the headline: "New Impetus for Disarmament." Comparison with the report headlined "Gyula Horn Welcomes Proposals" published in the 12 December East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 26, column two, shows the two to be identical, except for the following variations:

Paragraf one, sentence one to graf two, sentence one reads///[Text] International public opinion has received the unilateral reduction in Soviet troops with great interest and called it a brave act. This reduction will also affect Hungary. Our correspondent asked Gyula Horn about the expected consequences and about the Hungarian position. [new paragraph]

[Kanyo] What is the opinion of someone who shapes Hungarian foreign policy about Mikhail Gorbachev's announcement?

[Horn] There has been a clear positive international reaction to the proposed unilateral Soviet troop reduction. This has emerged from the first official reactions voiced in Western European capitals. This positive reaction is all the more important because, previously, similar Soviet proposals were generally rejected or accepted with reservations. [new paragraph]

As for the Hungarian position, we can welcome///omitting first paragraph and editorial introduction, supplying correspondent's question and additional passages;

Paragraph two, last sentence to paragraph three, sentence one reads///its offensive capacities. [new paragraph]

[Kanyo] If you have already mentioned the possibility of further disarmament agreements, in your view, how will this announcement in New York affect the Vienna talks? [new paragraph]

[Horn] Though Mikhail Gorbachev///supplying correspondent's question;

Paragraph four, sentence four reads///fact alters the basic points of departure that have to///deleting editorial notation and supplying word indistinct;

Same paragraph, continued on page 27, column one, penultimate sentence to last sentence of paragraph reads/// U.S. Senate's committee on land forces and their weapons. It shows that///supplying words indistinct;

Same paragraph, last sentence to first full paragraph on page 27, column one, sentence one reads///regards power relations. [new paragraph]

[Kanyo] What evaluation would you accept?

[Horn] In my opinion, with a difference of plus or minus 10 percent, the survey of the London-based Institute for Strategic Studies represents the real situation on both sides.

[Kanyo] Why do you mention the difference of plus or minus 10 percent?

[Horn] Because no one knows the exact number of soldiers, tanks, or artillery cannons on the other side. In addition, as I have already mentioned, there are qualitative differences between the two sides' arms, and these should not be disregarded either.

[Kanyo] How will this troop reduction affect the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary?

[Horn] The Soviet Union///supplying correspondent's questions and additional passages;

Page 27, column one, second full paragraph, last sentence reads///for arms reduction. [new paragraph]

[Kanyo] To what extent will the current, and future troop reductions affect our defense capabilities?

[Horn] The current step by the Soviet Union will not reduce our defense capabilities. We have to consider further measures to modernize our Army, our available military means, and to preserve its defense capabilities.

[Kanyo] During the evaluation of the possibilities of troop reductions, opinions have also been voiced in recent weeks according to which a unilateral reduction of Soviet troops would place a greater burden on the Hungarian defense forces, and would increase rather than decrease our military expenditures.

[Horn] In my opinion, if all the Soviet troops are withdrawn from Hungarian territory within the framework of a mutual reduction of armed forces in Europe, this does not meant that we will automatically have to increase our Armed Forces and their weapons. Neither our position within the Warsaw Pact nor our geostrategic situation would justify this. Besides, the prevailing trend is to reduce the offensive elements and to strengthen the defensive elements. In my opinion, this can be in harmony with the reduction of troops and expenditures, as well as with the organizational and technical modernization. (adding additional passage)

### Spokesman Reviews Council of Ministers Session

*LD1412233988 Budapest MTI in English 2112 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—During its Wednesday [14 December] session, the Hungarian Government discussed reports relating to next year's plan, and adopted the financial and credit policy guidelines for 1989. At the spokesman's conference after the session, Gyorgy Marosan said that the extension of the 40-hour working week also figured on the session's agenda. In principle, the government agreed with the idea, but first it holds it necessary to clarify certain conditions and will, therefore, return to the question early next year.

With regard to the printed press, the government stated that, as of January 1, 1989, newspaper publishing would become a purely business venture, with all press products going into the free-price category.

In connection with the Armenian natural disaster, which was also covered at the session, Mr Marosan said that the government approved and supported the voluntary collection drive to help the victims of the earthquake with medical equipment, medicine and treatment in Hungarian hospitals.

The government described the year 1988 as successful insofar as the main targets of the national economic plan have probably been met. It was stated that fears of soaring prices and inflation had proven unjustified. According to the 1989 Plan, inflation should not reach this year's level and exceed 15 per cent, and the burdens on the population should not be increased further. The budget deficit must not surpass the 20,000-million-forint mark. As Mr Marosan said in reply to a question put by MTI's news export desk correspondent, Hungary has committed itself to this under an agreement with the International Monetary Fund. A principal demand of next year's plan is that the external economic equilibrium should continue to improve and production restructuring continue. The final plan will be adopted by the government after the parliamentary debate starting on December 20.

Replying to a question, the spokesman said that Transylvanians resettling in Hungary can only be granted Hungarian citizenship if the Socialist Republic of Romania relieve them of their citizens' ties. For the present, there is an agreement in force between Hungary and Romania which rules out the possibility of dual citizenship. The agreement will expire on February 10, 1990, and the Hungarian Government can decide whether to extend it as of August 10, 1989, at the earliest. Should none of the parties lodge their intent to modify, the agreement will automatically be prolonged for a further five years. International legal practice generally prefers not to permit dual citizenship, Mr Marosan added.

The Hungarian Government will give a 1,000-forint Christmas present voucher to every Transylvanian resettler under the age of 18, the spokesman said.

Concerning the generally-held view that the current system of income taxation discourages extra performance, our correspondent asked why the financial administration leaves this out of consideration. Mr Marosan said that although the government recognizes that the income tax system has such an effect, it cannot change the system for the time being.

To the question of how the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted 40 years ago, influences the work of the Hungarian Government, the spokesman answered that our socio-political system is steadily progressing towards constitutional statehood. At present, preparations are being made for the drafting of about 20 major laws covering, for instance, the minorities, association, assembly, freedom of the press and religion, and the new constitution, which indicates that the theory and practice of the government's policy comply with the principles of the declaration.

Answering the last question, the spokesman said that the spokesman's briefings would also be made open to foreign journalists, possibly from early next year.

### Imre Pozsgay Comments on Use of Media

*LD1112024988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 10 Dec 88*

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, minister of state and MSZMP Politburo member, by editor Amos Mester, from the "168 Hours" program; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mester] The Openness Club held its general assembly a week ago and stated that it favored regarding Hungarian radio, television, and MTI as a national institution. By virtue of this, says the club, they must authentically relay every endeavor and social view that is not contrary to the Constitution. These issues affect more than journalists and have been arising with growing frenquency. Oversight of the mentioned institutions on behalf of the government is done by Imre Pozsgay, who is here with me. If I ask you who television, radio, and MTI belong to, what is your reply? To the government or to the nation?

[Pozsgay] The supervision, and responsibility, as well, is the government's; the program is the nation's.

[Mester] Is it worthwhile to make a distinction?

[Pozsgay] It is worthwhile to make a distinction.

[Mester] Excuse me, but I am asking this because some believe that the question is entirely unjustified. I am not among those.

[Pozsgay] The question is justified, since it must be made clear that although radio and television operate under government's immediate supervision and with its direction, they serve all social, national, openness [nyilvanossag], and that is what they must express. This means that government considers radio and television not to be exclusively a tool of government policy; the most various social views, endeavors, can be manifested in thier programs. Government must see to, attend to, these being manifested according to constitutional regulations and press law requirements.

[Mester] Yes. Well, the Openness Club says nothing except that these mass communications organizations must relay authentically all endeavors and views in society that are not contrary to the Constitution. At the same time, however, we cannot assume that these views in every single case coincide with government endeavors, government viewpoints. If, however, radio and television, is government radio and television, then some say it is a very curious thing that views can be voiced on these that are contrary to the government's views.

[Pozsgay] I do not consider that curious, although it is difficult for many to get accustomed to. Without a doubt, our previous information and political practice reflected, rather, the view that it was the government's institution, organization. Because of this, diverging views could only appear as an accident or disturbing circumstance.

However, if this assumes the form of an agreement, if the staff of radio and television, as well as public opinion—listeners, viewers—learn this political practice, it will not be a scandal, and not a provocation against one or another social group, but will also be a form of cooperation, a tool of social solidarity and of cooperation.

[Mester] Yes, what you are saying is perfectly understandable, but you obviously know far better than I that some profess very conservative views but have been able to master a kind of reform rhetoric. [word indistinct] they doubt that the view you have stated here is correct, but they say that the new so-called alternative groups or spontaneous groups should appear on radio and television, yet in accordance with their social weight. To this, I ask: who will decide the social weight of a spontaneous group? That is one question. The other is: Are we weighing on the basis of current relations of political strength or on the basis of future relations of political strength? Because the two are not necessarily identical.

[Pozsgay] [Word indistinct] There is a comment that is pertinent to the question. It would not be a good thing, and would not be of benefit to public opinion, or to alternative organizations, movements, or to those other endeavors, if at certain points the government was not able to make its views convincing, or at least clear, on certain issues. For example, regarding those areas where it does not agree with those other endeavors, the points of emphasis would take shape in the debate, in struggle, and not according to directive, by measuring in decagrams. Here it would be genuinely difficult to measure in decagrams. The processes must be attentively followed and the importance of individual radio and television programs designated according to processes, events, and not held captive to individual commotions.

[Mester] Good, well, practical experience makes me say that, to my greatest sorrow, some want to measure decagrams and would like to decide whether, let's say, the report on "168 Hours" on the founding congress of FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], which lasted 2 minutes and 37 seconds, was in accordance with its social weight. I am unable to accept this kind of weighing in decagrams. What is your opinion?

[Pozsgay] Well, let's not use this example, because I did not hear the program, and I would be very flustered if I had to pass judgment on a concrete case. However, I will repeat what I said earlier: An organization, with its own views, with its social presence, wins for itself a battleground not only on television and radio. For this reason, I consider this kind of measuring to be abasing rather than uplifting or forward thinking.

[Mester] There is a new method of approach; I have had recent experience with it. It can be roughly summed up in the view that the weight of every political group, that is—new political group, equals the number of its members. I have great doubts about this. I just read a statement by the representative of the Smallholders' Party, and he says that they do not wish to organize themselves into a large party. But their opinion and feeling is that in a vote they can count on many times their membership numbers. Whether or not he is right, it is true that a group cannot be judged as to its political weight solely on the basis of membership.

[Pozsgay] Not at all. Other qualities are decisive. It is not membership numbers that gives quality. That is what I think. Yet, among political movements, the ones of true weight are those which, with knowledge of the country's real situation, are able to provide the most realistic program, one that is most acceptable to the people. There will be a competition among programs, not just for program time. Organizations may be loquacious, and they may possess those tools for hours, yet they will not make any impact. I hope there is that much political

maturity in this country. They will not, after all, achieve appropriate impact or impact that pleases them because their message has no weight.

[Mester] Yes, but they must be given the opportunity to perform in public because this is a part of the democratization process, which was initiated by this government. Therefore, I believe it is simply impossible to ban these people and these groups from central mass communications means by saying: you should seek another forum, another platform. It would not dovetail with the political ideas we have said we want to realize.

[Pozsgay] This is not now possible and would not be a good thing. Otherwise, also among the proposed political ideas is that radio and television should be a national institution, not merely a government institution. I repeat: Government, here, has primarily a supervisory role, and it is on the basis of the general national interest, and not according to other considerations, that I should decide. Therefore, the national program must be realized here, through the existing institutions.

[Mester] However, is there an institutional guarantee? Is there a guarantee for an advisory board [kuratorium] on which representatives of these new political groups will also get a place?

[Pozsgay] Yes. I propose that we create such an institution alongside the government. Let us call it an information policy council [tajekoztatas-politikai tanacs] or publicity advisory board [Nyilvanossag kuratorium]. Its objective at any event will be to ensure the previously mentioned social-political viewpoints in a consensus-like way in mass communications. For this reason, every representative of society should have a say in how radio and television work and how MTI and other publicity institutions under government supervision work. It will be this kind of institution. Thus, the leaders of listed organizations will be members but people who step forth who require social communication will also be members.

[Mester] Can this interpreted as a kind of freedom of platform within a given forum?

[Pozsgay] Yes. It can be thus interpreted.

[Mester] Is what you are speaking about at the planning level already being realized?

[Pozsgay] It is already near realization.

[Mester] Thank you.

## MSZMP's Jasso Queried on Hungarian Reforms

*AU1312105788 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Dec 88 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Mihaly Jasso, first secretary of the Budapest MSZMP Committee, by ZYCIE WARSZAWY's Grzegorz Lubczyk: "Passiveness Is the Wrong Way"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Lubczyk] News about Karoly Grosz' meeting with the Budapest party committee last week has also reached Warsaw quickly. Many of the Hungarian leader's remarks were disturbing, for example his remark about the rebirth of counterrevolutionary forces. Could you tell us about the purpose of this political meeting?

[Jasso] We note a major acceleration of public life in our country. Many organizations have appeared that are now publicizing their programs. That is why MSZMP district and factory committees suggested that this conference be held in order to speak about and express a stance on matters on which there are no unanimous opinions, and also in order to acquaint themselves with emerging concepts about the future of the MSZMP. There has been no party forum like this one since May, and there has been no attempt since then to mobilize party members at a time when one cannot be passive.

[Lubczyk] What about the atmosphere of the conference? How did public opinion react to it?

[Jasso] About 11,000 people assembled to take part in it. There were even more people willing to attend, but even the largest hall in Budapest has its restrictions. There was very lively and spontaneous reaction to the words of Karoly Grosz, whose first public speech was solely in his capacity of general secretary, and the conference was broadcast on radio and television. Numerous domestic and foreign commentaries appeared quickly.

[Lubczyk] What conclusion do they reach?

[Jasso] The party's aktivs approved of the conference unanimously. Because of the conference's atmosphere of determination, the mood of party members has improved somewhat. Of course there was no absence of criticism, especially of those who are not interested in increasing the party's position and role in Hungarian society. Personally, I think the conference helped tidy our ranks, as it were.

[Lubczyk] What did those negatively disposed toward the conference have to say?

[Jasso] Unfortunately, not everyone, including some MSZMP members, agrees with the path of renewal and with the party's opening outward to current political and economic processes. I would suggest they re-read the general secretary's speech, after which it will be clear that there is no question of selling socialism.

One major discrepancy is that some people are trying to take advantage of our concern in order to make it look as if we want to halt the process of democratization, and yet all we want is for party members, and not only them, to show greater responsibility, because right now we are dealing with ideas that cannot be described as a show of responsibility.

[Lubczyk] No doubt you will agree with me that every process of change involves an absence of total unanimity of views, especially when it comes to such fundamental political changes as these. After all, a lot has happened in Hungary since the controversial May conference. How would you describe the present state of your restructuring? Where is Hungary today?

[Jasso] It all depends on your point of view. It seems to me that we are still at the beginning of the road. Decisions and social initiatives that conform to the socialist pluralism that is currently in fashion confirm the MSZMP's desire, expressed at the conference you mentioned, to implement a great social reform. This also involves discussions on the subject of a new constitution and a definition of the place and role of new organizations.

Unfortunately, what is happening in the economy is the least spectacular of all. The new mechanisms there have only a very limited maneuvering space. This is because of very difficult living conditions, which in turn affect social moods. Social moods have deteriorated recently. Society, including party aktivs, does not feel any positive changes in the economy, and some of our initiatives seem exaggerated in the eyes of society. There seem to be too many of them. We realize, though not always, that the authorities do not have a magic wand, and yet the party's renewal is an entire process. Every MSZMP member has to consider a lot of things and reorient himself.

[Lubczyk] You used the term "socialist pluralism." We are also discussing it a lot. What do you understand by it?

[Jasso] To me, it means an exposure of various groups of interests and various views and opinions, all of them embodied in institutionalized and organized forms. It means a different way of exercising power.

[Lubczyk] What role does the Budapest party committee play in the present transformations?

[Jasso] I would say it had a positive influence on the preparations for the May conference, and, in a certain sense, it also affected the course of this conference. There have been discussions on the subject of future cadre changes, mainly in Budapest. During the past few months we have been concentrating on creating better mechanisms that will enable not only information, but also decisions to reach primary party bodies and rank-and-file members more quickly, and vice versa. I think everyone, aktivists and the rank-and-file, should take part in these changes with greater competence and courage.

[Lubczyk] Does that mean that insufficient energy by party members is the Budapest party committee's chief worry?

[Jasso] We still react too slowly to the challenges of daily life. We still fail to mobilize all our reserves. Although we have initiated many political processes, we are not directing all of them. Contacts with some social milieus fluctuate, influence on young people is weak. There are less and less young people in the party. This is not so much the result of weak political concepts as a failure by us to work as well as we can. It is also difficult to mobilize one's own party committee in order to perform some new tasks. So we have enough work to do.

[Lubczyk] In a country of 10.5 million people, over 2 million live in Budapest. In other words, every fifth Hungarian is a Budapest resident. That must make the Budapest party committee's work different from that of every other regional committee.

[Jasso] Indeed. Budapest has 22 districts, and one-quarter of all MSZMP members, in other words, about 200,000. The number of party members has fallen by 10 percent.

[Lubczyk] Do you not regret their departure? Were they worthless people?

[Jasso] Theoretically, the party cannot regret their departure, especially because many of them ought to be with us. There are various reasons behind this state of affairs. I can also say that all those who have stayed are full-value communists. This is a complicated matter. An exchange of party membership cards, carried out every 10 years, also contributed to this drop in membership. We have to admit that many former members resigned for political reasons. Almost 40 percent of the party consists of workers. The party is growing old, and there are not enough new members.

[Lubczyk] The Budapest MSZMP Committee has maintained close ties with the Warsaw PZPR Committee for many years. Karoly Grosz visited Warsaw as the "top man" of Budapest fairly recently, followed by Ferenc Havasi. When I interviewed Karoly Grosz before his Warsaw visit, he described our relations as good, though he did say that there were many improvements that could be made. How do you view our cooperation?

[Jasso] This is not just a question of personal feelings. For us, these contacts are exceedingly advantageous. However, it is true that so far, our cooperation has been less than full. The Warsaw party comrades will agree. There is still too much protocol. It is not enough to

exchange official delegations. Fortunately, cooperation has been improving in Hungary and in Poland over the past 3 to 4 years, in line with the transformations in both countries. It is now more practical. There are more and more meetings and exchanges of groups of experts on various topics. The present Hungarian delegation in Warsaw is interested in the Warsaw PZPR Committee's relations with district and factory committees. We have also tried to find out as much as we can about the PZPR's election preparations, because the same thing is in store for us. I repeat, an exchange of political experiences is of fundamental importance to us. We are going to suggest the holding of Warsaw Days in Budapest, and vice versa.

[Lubczyk] It is traditional for my interviewees to describe themselves for the benefit of ZYCIE WARSZAWY readers when I interview them for the first time.

[Jasso] I am 52 years old. I have been a party aktivist for 22 years. Before that I was a teacher in an elementary school. After that I held managerial posts in the Ministry of Education. I studied social sciences in Moscow.

I like reading. I like going to the theater, especially to the "Madach" and "Vigszinhaz" theaters. From time to time I manage to play a game of tennis. I have a family. I live with my first wife. My daughter is married. Three years ago she bore my grandson, Andras.

[Lubczyk] The final question. Will the Hungarians ever be satisfied with the present transformations?

[Jasso] I am an optimist. If I was not convinced about the cause that I have served for so many years, I would have chosen a different occupation a long time ago.

## Pozsgay Interviewed on KISZ Talks

*LD1212114488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 88*

[From "The Week" program; report and interview with MSZMP Politburo member Imre Pozsgay—identified by caption—by unidentified correspondent; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] This week, the leaders of KISZ which is being renewed and which really wants to represent the problems of young people, met with the government for the purpose of jointly seeking solutions, taking into consideration the rightful demands of the new generation and also the fact that the government's possibilities are very limited by the state of the country's economy. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [correspondent] The KISZ members behaved in a novel way regarding the background circumstances of the talks; they distributed protest pamphlets saying: "Come and bring a tent and pitch it! Light a torch!" At a debate I heard an opinion that the KISZ should not have done this. The task of KISZ, in view of the financial difficulties should have been to calm the young people instead of inciting them, therey putting the government into a difficult position. What is your opinion about this?

[Pozsgay] The government did not find itself in a more unpleasant situation because of this, than what it would have been in anyhow, after all, the government, and this is known by KISZ, can decide things only within tight limits now. To my mind, naturally the government is also in need of precise information on the emotions and aspirations which are being voiced in society, or in this case, by a generation. So I was not particularly shocked that the KISZ membership wanted to stress this demand with a demonstration and signatures. The point about this is that where there is pressure it has to be supplemented with a sense of pressure. This, without doubt, has an influence on the decision-makers.

But the facts which have a really great effect on the decisionmakers are those which form the world in which the decisionmakers work. I still think that, despite what happened, it was a good discussion where KISZ came suitably prepared, representing its 700,000 members, and in many respects knowing the problems of the whole of youth.

[Correspondent] Even 6-8 years ago you, rather alone, voiced your view that in a difficult situation, more rather than less democracy is needed. There are some who even today disagree with you, and say that in this difficult situation the task should be to silence people.

[Pozsgay] I am really a stubborn person regarding this. It is possible that perhaps I have more experience. This suggests to me that cooperation between people have never yet been created by force, or if so only within primitive circumstances. In a highly developed society which is creating technology in great demand only a cooperative society can make achievements.

Roads can be swept by force but heads cannot be cleared by force. Microelectronics, mass communications, developed industrial products cannot be created by people who are restricted in their quality as citizens.

Another point is that people can have bad experiences by the fact that democracy was often mistaken for something else; for example, it was taken into production organizations but freedom was not given in civilian society, and when they want to bring democracy into production organizations and technological processes, then production is destroyed with it. This is not the fault of democracy but of the persons who keep avoiding democracy and trying to divert it into different channels, to buy off the resistence in the production spheres. Well, this is clear.

[Correspondent] Do you think that a citizen whose rights have been encroached upon wants revenge and tries to obtain rights when he is not entitled to them?

[Pozsgay] Exactly. He retrieves his rights. He retrieves those things of which he was deprived, and takes them back somewhere, mostly into production. It is plain to see that within the circumstances of production the citizens work excellently where the production process is managed well, let us say in a large-scale plant, or if we are talking about private production, within circumstances where he has a decisive influence on the production processes. In those circumstances people are able to work like trojans. But the moment they are deprived of something, somehwhere in society they start a go-slow.

[Correspondent] It is said that one of the very important components of the Hungarian national character is pronounced sensitivity regarding rights. There are violations of the law which affect 1, 10, or 100 people but we still take note. Is it right that the mass media should deal with such matters?

[Pozsgay] It is right. This is my view, definitely. Because where one person's right can be trampled on, there is the chance that the rights of billions can have the same fate. Therefore, the violation of the right of one person, from the point of view of the sensitivity of society as a whole, is an issue affecting not one person but that of millions. Because within the conditions of legality and the constitutional state it is not a question of whether the state feels secure; the question is whether the citizen feels secure against the state. This is what I read from Marxism, too, and from other humanist legal theories. In his critique of the Gotha Program, Marx says that where the state is free, the citizen cannot be free. Therefore, a state which operates by subordinating itself to the people in every respect should be created. It is as easy as anything else; the system of state and the institutions of the state have to be arranged on this principle. Thus the last right of appeal should always belong to the citizen. This is what I have learned in socialism. [end recording]

## Labor Office, TU's Discuss Strike Regulation

*LD1212235388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 12 Dec 88*

[Text] Representatives of the independent trade unions and the State Office for Wages and Labor have discussed the regulation concerning the right to strike. The Democratic Trade Union of Teachers and of Scientific Workers, as well as the (Humanitas) Trade Union for Teachers of Handicapped Children, and the Mozgokep Democratic Trade Union are of the view that the planned regulation is quite close to being a legal prohibition of strikes: Accordingly, it serves confrontation, instead of reconciliation.

According to the independent trade unions, a legal and institutional system for political consensus should be created.

## Foreign Trade Employees Trade Union Formed

*LD1312093388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Dec 88*

[Text] The Trade Union of Foreign Trade Employees is the fourth new independent trade union which has been formed within the Commerce, Finance and Catering Industry Workers Trade Union, after the Catering and Tourism Domestic Trade, and Consumer Cooperative Trade Unions. Another two, the financial institution employees and production equipment retailers trade unions, will follow in the next few days.

The Foreign Trade Employees Trade Union has formulated several demands in its draft program. For example, that the new pension act should not change the pensionable age but should be capable of upholding the real value of pensions. Workers should be paid by the new wages tariff system in accordance with the value of their work instead of the length of service.

They also demand that collective agreement should be compulsory in every economic unit within the trade, that the 40-hour working week should be introduced in foreign trade, too, and that the newly formed presidium should work out a proposal for a minimum wage for young people entering the trade. The Trade Union of Foreign Trade Employees recommends a nominal wage increase applicable to the entire branch because it is the National Council of Trade Unions which must make the demand for maintaining real wages.

## Leaders Condolences to USSR on Quake

*LD1412132288 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2227 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 8—In connection with the tragic earthquake in Armenia, PUWP CC 1st Secretary and President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski sent a letter of condolences to the CPSU CC general secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, and Chairman of the Council of Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

On behalf of deeply moved Polish society and Poland's supreme authorities, the Polish leaders passed words of sorrow and compassion to the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR as well as to the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union.

The most sincere condolences were conveyed to the families suffering from the results of the earthquake and to the Armenian SSR's authorities.

## Urban's 9 Dec Rome Press Conference Reported

*AU1412145288 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Dec 88 p 6*

[Press conference by Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the Polish Embassy in Rome on 9 December]

[Text] PAP correspondent Bozydar Sosien writes: Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban, who is visiting Rome, held a press conference for Italian and foreign journalists at the Polish Embassy on 9 December, informing them about the present situation in Poland and answering many questions on this topic.

Having greeted the many representatives of the press, Minister Urban said:

[Urban] So much is happening in Poland that I have accepted several invitations from Polish ambassadors to tell people about what is going on, and I thought I would start with Rome. A certain psychological breakthrough has occurred in Poland; in less than 3 weeks there is going to be an economic breakthrough, and we also expect a political development, albeit slower than the others.

The psychological breakthrough involves the fact that 1 month after the election of the Rakowski government, social moods and opinions about the government have changed radically, at a speed and to an extent never encountered before. On 13 November, 72 percent of Poland's adult population said that they trust the government, which is a 40 percent increase. This means that the previous government ended its life with only about 32 percent of the adult population having confidence in it. Some 65 percent of the adult population have said that the new government is creating chances for an improvement in the situation, in other words, society's optimism has grown. Some 58 percent of the population supported the closure of the Gdansk shipyard, which was one of the Rakowski government's first moves, albeit a controversial one. Some 85 percent approved of this government's work, and 52 percent supported the choice of Rakowski as premier, even though only 32 percent said that they trust him.

However, the most important thing to come out of all this is not so much the degree of social confidence in the government (this is very unstable, and will certainly fall after the first price increases), as the drastic growth of optimism. Poland was weighed down by very strong pessimism, and now 74 percent of the population have professed various degrees of optimism. By the start of the new year, a package of economic legislation will be ready, which will form a kind of breakthrough in the country's economic life, at least in the rules governing this life. This legislation includes a bill on general economic activity, which grants freedom for all kinds of economic activity, that is to say, it provides that no permission from any authorities is required in order to conduct economic activity. Of course, it does mention several spheres that do require a license, such as the manufacture of weapons and drugs. Furthermore, the bill creates complete legal equality for every sector of the economy, in other words the state, private, cooperative, communal, and other sectors.

Poland is the first socialist country not to impose any limits concerning the size of employment in private enterprises. A stock market and foreign currency market are emerging; the free circulation of foreign currency is gradually being introduced; banks are competing with each other; and, by means of another law, unrestricted foreign capital investments are being permitted.

The state will decide whether to allow any given firm to set up business in Poland. Once permission has been granted, such a firm will function more or less according to the same conditions as Polish firms, but it may even enjoy certain privileges. Companies may be established, either with foreign capital or with Polish capital. Foreigners will be able to run enterprises based either on mixed capital or, of course, on their own capital. It will be possible to transfer abroad most of the foreign currency profits earned by exports. Taxation has already been reduced considerably. The maximum rate of tax on foreign capital is 36 percent. On top of this are tax concessions, earned by exports, among other things. The minimum rate of tax is 10 percent.

Basically, all these economic changes will come into effect one after another, as of 1 January 1989.

The path of these economic changes and concrete solutions in this sphere have been firmly decided upon. Perhaps they are still being discussed inside the party, but the opposition thinks that their economic claims have been fully satisfied.

Even with all these changes, people claim that the Rakowski government is attempting to confine all changes to the economic sphere, and postpone or minimize changes in the political sphere.

First, the political implications of these economic changes are very profound and very obvious. Second, because we have concentrated on achieving an economic breakthrough during 2 months of work, that does not mean we are neglecting the political sphere. All we want is to start acting according to new principles as of the start of the new economic year. Third, there are, in fact, parallel political changes. For example, many various oppositionist student and non-student organizations and political associations have arisen, mainly bearing Catholic colors, and unrestricted dialogue has been undertaken with Walesa, a person who is a symbol for all oppositionist trends in Poland. He has been publicly recognized as a partner for talks. Now he has gone to Paris. Finally, right now the government is working on a fundamental political development: an associations act. This corresponds to the new philosophy of gradual political changes, because sudden changes, as Poland's postwar history shows, have effects that are opposite to the ones intended by those who had democratic changes in mind.

It is the desire of the country's political authorities, including the PZPR, the allied parties, and the government, to begin political pluralism by permitting the formation of political associations. Protecting the country against a sudden eruption of conflicts is not the only reason for this. The point is that this development should occur at a natural pace.

One can imagine various organizations emerging, disappearing, merging, splitting. One can imagine various political movements flexing their muscles before they emerge in the concrete shape of an organization, and that more permanent forms of politically pluralistic life will emerge. This act has been discussed with church elements. We reached an agreement with the church on some points, and failed to do so on others, as a result of which the bill is still being discussed. However, I believe it will be placed before parliament soon.

We still have not succeeded in setting in motion the "roundtable," with the participation of the opposition and those of various political tendencies, in order to seek some sort of political consensus and together work out a concept for the country's political development.

This "roundtable" is still a subject of preliminary talks that are sometimes confidential, and sometimes not confidential. It is difficult to hold this meeting because the group of activists centered on Walesa wants to hear from the lips of the authorities some clearer declaration concerning the future of the "Solidarity" movement and trade union. We believe that a model for a trade union movement should be a part of the entire structure of political, social, and professional life in Poland, and it is worth discussing this topic with other participants in Poland's political future at the "roundtable." Otherwise, it would be like designing a balcony for the second floor of a building without discussing the plan of the building. Of course, we are not concerned with talking for the sake of protocol, but we fear a repetition of 1981, when a mixture of economic and political demands pent up inside a single powerful organism turned out to be an explosive mixture.

As far as the future of the trade union movement is concerned, one can see a certain consensus, at least in Walesa's remarks on Polish TV, when he said that this trade union movement cannot serve as a reminder of the "Solidarity" of 1981, cannot recreate previous anarchic trends, and so on.

As far as our relations with the West are concerned, in the political sphere they are not developing badly at all. In the economic sphere, the development is more modest. We believe the reason is that political considerations are more important to the other side than economic ones. Therefore, the Rakowski government is altering its approach to these matters somewhat. We have made an analysis and reached the conclusion that we cannot count on any development of economic cooperation with the West on the basis of international agreements. Progress here can only occur very slowly. So we are rejecting globalism and talk of hundreds of millions of dollars. We prefer to gear ourselves to thousands of small enterprises that will establish, purely by economic means, links between various sectors of the Polish economy and the West.

As far as Polish-Italian relations are concerned, which from an economic point of view are also better than Poland's relations with most Western countries, I have to tell you that when I left Warsaw there was a certain storm brewing around a part of these relations. Soon after Poland had signed a great contract with Fiat concerning cooperation in the manufacture of a medium-capacity car, the minister of industry questioned this contract. The director of the FSO car plant resigned. The party committee in this plant called the minister a Stalinist, and talks and arguments broke out about this. In any case, we asked Fiat to alter the contract in such a way that we can produce, still on the basis of mutual cooperation, small cars in both the car factories in Poland.

Next, Minister Urban answered questions from journalists.

[Question] Why was Walesa refused the right to go abroad before, and how will his present trip affect Poland's relations with the West?

[Urban] First of all, Walesa only received one refusal to go abroad, because "Solidarity" is not considered to be a legal union in Poland, and Walesa wanted to represent this union at the WFTU congress. Walesa has never filed

any other passport applications in connection with any other travel plans. I do not think his present trip should affect Poland's relations with the West either way. Of course, we will receive praise that Walesa has gone, but episodes like this do not alter the matter. The mainstream of American politics vis-a-vis Poland is the presentation of increasingly heavy political demands. In other words, for every political fact that the Americans welcome, there is a far-reaching demand, and this is a process that will certainly not end quickly.

[Question] In a speech to the Polish bishops during his Polish visit in 1986, the pope asked them to create conditions for dignified diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Do these conditions exist yet? What stage have talks between Poland and the Vatican reached?

[Urban] We are developing bilateral relations. Complex work is taking place on establishing the church's legal status in Poland. This work is proceeding favorably, though it is taking a long time because of the complexity of the material, involving financial assets and other detailed matters. As far as diplomatic relations with Poland are concerned, there should come a time when official talks between the Polish Government and the Holy See will start. We are ready to enter this stage, but it seems that it is up to the Vatican to choose the right moment from the point of view of Vatican policy. Of course it is important to us that these relations be established, mainly for symbolic reasons, because mutual contacts have become standard practice, and mutual relations can develop even more if they receive a proper form.

[Question] Have you seen or will you see the pope?

[Urban] No. I am too unimportant, and I am not involved in Poland's relations with the church or the Vatican. I came to Rome to see you, and that is a sufficient honor.

[Question] Who decided to suspend the cooperation contract with Fiat? From what you say, it seems that it was you.

[Urban] That is a misunderstanding. The minister of industry accepted the FSO director's resignation, that is all. Now there will be talks with the new director and other bodies in this factory about a new concept of production under license. Some decisions can be made by FSO, but some only by the government. For example, if the government does not grant adequate subsidies, FSO will only be able to conclude the contracts that the government wants. Apart from that, altering the concept of cooperation requires prior talks with Fiat. So all that has happened is that the "Polish Agnelli" has departed and that it is intended to alter the Warsaw car industry's program.

[Question] Do you think the church's influence on Polish society is diminishing, and what do you think of the document signed by Archbishop Dabrowski on the subject of the Gdansk shipyard? What do you think of this communique?

[Urban] I have already said that 58 percent of Poland's adult population supported this decision, a smaller percentage had no comment to make, and an even smaller percentage condemned it. Therefore, the decision has generally been approved in Poland as a sign of the government's concern, although it was badly received by everyone in the shipyard: Walesa, his entourage, the party committee, and the management. That is normal. In any case, we expect a similar reaction in the near future to close several other large, inefficient enterprises this year. The government enjoys extraordinary powers which expire at the end of the year, and it wants to use them up.

As far as I can remember, Archbishop Dabrowski dealt with the symbolic aspects of closing the shipyard, rather than the economic aspects. Unfortunately, we must come to terms with the fact that whatever large enterprise is closed down, some symbol will always suffer, because Poland is full of symbols and every enterprise possesses some sort of symbolic significance. For example, in one factory a lot of blood might have been shed before the war, in another factory there might have been a strike, another factory might be a symbol of the regained territories, and so on. So it is certain that protests, based on various lines of thought, will come in from all sides. In any case, symbols are willingly resorted to in Poland, even during ordinary discussions, especially economic ones. As I said, a party committee has called my colleague the minister of industry a Stalinist because he is in favor of producing a small car instead of a large one.

[Question] Does the Polish Government think Walesa himself is an obstacle to the start of talks with "Solidarity?"

[Urban] No. On the contrary, Walesa is the person who has been invited to the "roundtable" more than anyone else, and since September he has stood out among those invited to take part. Apart from that, Walesa has publicly adopted an attitude of conciliation and moderation, in other words, he has made himself out to be a credible partner in the talks.

[Question] Are there other personal reasons why the "roundtable" has not started? I mean Kuron, or Michnik. By the way, during G. Spadolini's recent visit to Warsaw, did B. Geremek say that if "Solidarity" is legalized, it will lend its full support to the government's economic reform policy?

[Urban] There are no personal reasons why the "roundtable" should not start. There were such reasons before, but I think a way of overcoming them has been

found. This leads to the second part of your question, because we want to discuss at the "roundtable" economic reform and its support by all political forces in Poland. If an accord on economic affairs occurs, it will be easier to reach an accord on other problems.

[Question] What is the Polish Government's stance on Gorbachev's UN speech?

[Urban] We very much support the disarmament trends presented by him. Poland possesses the second largest group of conventional forces in the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet decisions on a unilateral reduction of conventional forces, the ones M. Gorbachev presented at the United Nations, were discussed with us earlier on. We believe these intentions possess major significance for the whole of Europe. It is of interest to us that the unilateral Soviet moves should create better possibilities of talks on the subject of a further bilateral reduction of conventional forces by both camps.

[Question] Getting back to the problem with Fiat, does Poland not want to produce any medium-capacity car at all, or does it not want to produce medium-capacity Fiats? Have there been other offers like the Daihatsu offer?

[Urban] Absolutely not! We want to remain faithful to our Italian partners. All we want to do is alter the terms of the contract and not produce any medium-capacity car at all under license. We just want to produce a 100 percent Polish medium-capacity car, which is already being produced in any case, and we want to increase the production of the tiny Fiat to about 600,000 cars a year. The reasons are threefold. First, Poland would never be able to sell a medium-capacity car on Western markets, even if it is a Fiat. Second, it is cheaper to have one license instead of two. Third, Poland will be the sole producer of the tiny Fiat, so it will have less problems in selling it. In addition, the new government's alternative is more socially acceptable. The medium-capacity Fiat that was meant to be produced under the terms of the contract would have cost about $10,000, so not many Poles would have been able to afford such an expensive car. So there would have been problems in selling it in Poland. Therefore, it seems easier to produce a popular model affordable by anyone, on the basis of further cooperation with Fiat, than to produce various expensive models which affluent people can import themselves. Fiat has told us that this does not affect their interests in any way. It displayed genuine understanding, but of course the matter still requires talks. In addition, Fiat said that this is what it proposed at the very beginning, and that Poland should have listened to intelligent people.

[Question] You have presented a broad panorama of institutional, political, and economic changes in Poland. How will the "roundtable" affect them? What kind of independent political organizations did you mean, and how can they influence the shape of political life in Poland?

[Urban] It is difficult to answer the second question. We are creating the legal possibilities for associations with different political orientations to emerge. The courts will register those that declare that they will respect the existing legal-constitutional order. One can assume that very many different groups that are presently conspiratorial or semi-conspiratorial will avail themselves of the chance to legalize their status, except for groups like "Fighting Solidarity," which insists that the present authorities must be overthrown, instead of talking to them and help in reforming Poland. However, it is difficult to say right now what kind of organizations will emerge. I believe that there will be many of them, but not many will be important and last a long time, because that is the way things are in political life. In Italy, too, only seven political parties play a meaningful role, although there could be 100. One more remark about the "roundtable" and the path of changes. It will be attended by people representing various political groups, and every single one of these groups will have its own vision of Poland's development. The purpose of the "roundtable" is to reach some sort of compromise and find a joint platform acceptable to everyone, which everyone would like to implement. For example, the representatives of the authorities will propose changes to the Constitution, which will permit an expansion of the political base of government.

[Question] When do you think the "roundtable" will start?

[Urban] Several days ago, I said it would start soon, still this year, and that I am an optimist. However, today I have said that it depends on new political impulses, so it is impossible to give a date.

[Question] What is the further itinerary of your trips to European capitals?

[Urban] I have invited myself to Moscow and Bonn; but not to meet those governments, only to meet the Polish ambassadors. So far, only Ambassador Wiejacz in Rome has invited me.

## Official Denies Urban 'Stalinist' Remark

*AU1512134388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Dec 88 p 5*

[Statement by Marian Krawczykowski, first secretary of the PZPR factory committee of the FSO car plant: "The PZPR Factory Committee of FSO Explains"]

[Text] The Monday issue of TRYBUNA LUDU and other newspapers carried a PAP report on a press conference given by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban in Rome on 9 December. Minister Urban is alleged to have said during this conference that the PZPR factory committee of FSO accused the Minister of Industry of Stalinist methods ("He is a Stalinist") because he is in favor of a different FSO development concept than ours.

I hereby say, and I have conveyed a suitable explanation to PAP concerning this matter, that the FSO party committee never used such an expression in any of its documents, nor was such an expression used during talks with Minister Wilczek when he visited our factory. Perhaps the reason for the misunderstanding is that one of the unauthorized bulletins distributed throughout FSO contained such a description, which defames Minister Wilczek and distorts the party committee's stance. This bulletin has no connection with the truth. Its distribution has been discontinued, on the party committee's instructions.

Marian Krawczynski, first secretary of the PZPR factory committee of FSO.

### Urban Criticizes Oppositionist Economic Plan

*AU1212171388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Dec 88 p 1*

[PAP report: "Jerzy Urban on the Oppositionist Economic Program"]

[Text] During the main television news on 5 December, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban issued the following statement:

There was something I found so funny that I could not resist summoning a television crew. In KULTURA PARYSKA, a key emigre journal, I read an economic program written by a key extremist activist in the opposition, under the pseudonym Poleski. He has drafted an alternative economic program: one that competes with the full government program. His program calls for equal access by all economic units to the supply and procurement markets; equality concerning taxation and credits throughout the economy; a single exchange rate between the dollar and zloty; a further liberalization of currency exchange; the freedom to establish, merge, and divide economic organizations that do not involve a monopoly; guarantees that there will be no changes to the law controlling domestic and foreign capital for at least 10 years; a free use of land and agricultural crops that extends to the entire economy; and legislation that permits unemployment, bankruptcy of enterprises, the closure of enterprises that are harmful to the environment, freedom of whatever is not forbidden, and freedom of foreign trade.

The joke is that all this is either being implemented by the government already, or is due to be implemented shortly, or has already been drafted and presented before the Sejm. Just like our so-called opposition, Mr Poleski does not read the papers, and as far as programmatic affairs are concerned, he might as well join the party. There are three other points which I will mention for the sake of information: The freedom to create trade unions, including "Solidarity," (as we know, this very topic is due to be discussed at the "roundtable"); and the establishment of a minimum subsistence level of Z40,000 per month, equal to the unemployment benefit. Here the issue is not clear, because Z40,000 per month is too small if paid to a whole family, but too much if paid to every person in the family. That would mean Z130,000 per month for a family, and that is unrealistic. There was something else. Oh yes, he wants only 10 ministries. Why not 8 or 20? He does not explain.

However, what is amusing is that this alternative program has been copied word for word from our program, which, strictly speaking, is no longer a program but a package of legislation that has been presented before the Sejm or is already in effect. I do not know if anyone was amused by this as much as I was!

### Walesa Interviewed on Human Rights

*PM1412112088 Paris LE FIGARO in French 12 Dec 88 p 3*

[Interview with Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Renaud Girard in Paris—date not given]

[Text] [Girard] You have come to Paris to celebrate human rights. What do you think of the Marxist distinction between official freedoms and real freedoms?

[Walesa] I have very vague ideas about Marxism. It does not interest me. However, I have always been interested in freedoms, and, in practical terms, the freedoms which people can enjoy and which trade unions can enjoy in Poland and in other countries. If you want to know about Marxism, ask [French General Confederation of Labor leader] Mr Krasucki. I met him in 1981. I do not think he noticed the problems which Solidarity had in 1982 and 1983. When he visited Poland, he had clearly forgotten my address. As a Marxist, he did not want to continue the dialogue. That is a pity. I would have liked to meet him, for the sake of trade unionists.

[Girard] With regard to the situation in Poland, does Jaruzelski really have a chance of restoring human rights, even if he wanted to do so?

[Walesa] My answer is yes, and I promise to help him.

[Girard] Is it true that Jaruzelski is a patriot who is doing what he can for his country?

[Walesa] It is not for me to judge Gen Jaruzelski or anybody else. My motto is: "Judge not, lest ye be judged."

[Girard] You seem to be increasingly advocating working with the administration rather than against it in rebuilding the Polish economy.

[Walesa] We must fight to ensure that the government authorities respect Polish law and actually give the people the freedoms enshrined in it. We must use peaceful and effective methods. My philosophy is that agreement enables us to build and disagreement

destroys. But I do not want anything to do with an agreement at any cost—an agreement which violates certain fundamental principles.

**The Church's Role**

[Girard] What are these principles which are not open to negotiation with the Polish Government?

[Walesa] We must not sell our souls and we must improve our freedom of action. As I said: The government must restore individual and trade union freedoms. But the place, the date, and the circumstances of the Polish situation must be taken into consideration. Take an Indian who lives on a reservation. Give him freedom suddenly. He jumps the fence and is free. But what does he do with his freedom? He is disoriented. Freedom requires an apprenticeship. If I did the same thing, I would immediately be devoured by mosquitoes....

[Girard] What do you think of human rights as applied in France?

[Walesa] I am demanding the freedoms which you enjoy in France for us Poles. If we look closely, we would certainly find imperfections in your country, too, people for whom more could be done; but I do not have time to look as closely as that.... You might perhaps make provision for every Frenchman to be president in turn for 15 minutes.... I read in a newspaper that some Americans advocated that system for their country.... I am sorry, I am joking. But I find politics boring. So, I try to add a touch of humor....

[Girard] What role can the Catholic Church play in the fight for human rights?

[Walesa] I am happy to be a believer. This picture of the Virgin which I wear on my lapel bears witness to that. I can only talk about the church in Poland. As a result of age-old efforts, there is a good relationship between the nation and the church in our country. In the course of our history, the church has often saved the homeland. The church has never disappointed the Polish nation. Today, the church has a major role to play and it is trying to play it. The Holy Father, our compatriot, has done a great deal for us. I have learned a great deal from our religion and I still have a great deal to learn from it. It is a constant source of enrichment for me.

## Walesa Stresses His 'Delicate' Position

*PM1212105188 Paris LE MONDE in French 9 Dec 88 p 9*

[Interview with Lech Walesa by Sylvie Kauffmann: "'Victory Does Not Imply the Defeat Either of This Communist Party or of This Government but a Reorganization of Structures'"— date not given]

[Text] Gdansk—[Kauffmann] Why do you think that the authorities organized that television debate in Warsaw and allowed you to go to France?

[Walesa] I have been wondering the same thing. And I shall ask that question the next time that I am in contact with the authorities. For the moment I can only speculate: It seems that the authorities are as interested as Solidarity and I are in having good relations with France. It is also plausible that the authorities really want to make overtures toward the West, and France can help in that.

As for the debate, I just can't believe that it happened and that it was uncensored. In the past 40 years of Polish history there has never been anything like it. I am lucky. Undoubtedly it has produced a favorable response among the population. But I do not know whether we will ever learn why the authorities allowed me to appear uncensored in the communist media. I thank the man who made the decision. He had courage.

[Kauffmann] Aren't you afraid of being used as a sort of alibi?

[Walesa] I have never let myself be manipulated and I never will. I have never betrayed anyone and I never will. Neither for honors nor under threat of punishment. I think that I have demonstrated these simple truths sufficiently for years now. Wherever I am I will struggle to realize all the aspirations of the Polish population, that is, the ideals of Solidarity: liberty based on economic, social, and political pluralism.

[Kauffmann] Why was the government-opposition roundtable meeting not held finally?

[Walesa] In my view because the authorities aren't yet ready for real discussions among Poles. They aren't prepared for reform yet. In this country and in this bloc you can still sense Stalin's presence. Now, after the TV debate, the authorities are more favorably disposed. They seem closer to our aspirations, closer than they have ever been (...). Only now is there a situation that I can be a little happy about. Because I am going to France—and I am going with [Prof Bronislaw] Geremek, because I have taken part in an uncensored debate, and because this is an introduction to the things I have been struggling for. But... don't get me wrong. I don't have pluralism yet, people aren't happy yet, they cannot organize themselves, and that means that I am not satisfied with everything. I am satisfied with the prelude.

[Kauffmann] Have you had any contacts with the government since your last meeting with General Kiszczak on 20 November?

[Walesa] I talk to a lot of different people, and among them there are government people and people who wield power.

The day after the TV debate I held a press conference at St Brigyda's in Gdansk. The top authorities sent a TV crew there to record it and to send them the recording immediately. That was a kind of contact and monitoring

of my actions. Urban has said that he was happy with this press conference—one which no one in Poland knows about, apart from a few Western journalists and those who made the recording for some people in high places; I don't know who they are. Thus they have praised me highly for something which Poles do not know about. That may cause jealousy and suspicion: "It is a betrayal? What is Walesa up to?" Because the contents are unknown. And the government is congratulating me for it. I have said before that the worst thing would be for the government to praise me. So I find myself in a very difficult position.

[Kauffmann] But despite this new treatment, to which you are entitled, in specific terms, is the political situation deadlocked?

[Walesa] No, it isn't deadlocked, contrary to appearances. The TV debate was the first impetus. Several people have to pull themselves together, understand, and go forward. On both sides. It isn't very fast: It is a process. We have ideas, of course. We know how to accelerate that process and we are going to do so. This debate was an important event in Poland. Not because I took part in it but because of the number of problems which were broached. The thousands of telegrams and letters—an avalanche of them—that I have received have been unequivocal. That is constructive and must lead to acceleration on the road to victory. But let this be clearly understood: This victory does not imply the defeat either of this communist party or of this government but another reorganization of structures. The greatest mistake would be to debate the seizure of power. That is forbidden to us: We need the government to proceed with the reforms.

[Kauffmann] Even the present government?

[Walesa] We do not like them, we bear them a grudge, but they are indispensable. Poland doesn't yet have organized people who could seriously consider governing. There are some individuals. But on a national scale there aren't enough of them. It will take a long process before the one with the best program is able to manage the country.

[Kauffmann] You often say that pluralism can lead to anarchy. What do you mean by that?

[Walesa] Not pluralism but the transition from the Stalinist model to the pluralist system. To make it clearer to you: I've got a dog; he spends all day in his kennel. When I release him in the evening, he is so happy and runs so fast that he can't negotiate the corner of the house and sometimes hits his head against the wall. It's the same with people. When they have been caged up and are then suddenly released and can do what they like and organize themselves, there is the risk that they will demand that scores be settled and judgements passed, etc. So you need to set up in advance official, legal intermediary agencies to prevent people coming into collision with something that could harm them.

[Kauffmann] Let us return to your relationship with the authorities. On 31 August you halted the strikes in exchange for negotiations on trade union pluralism. You were challenged at the time on that. Now these negotiations—the famous round-table talks—have never taken place. How do you demonstrate to your supporters that you have not been duped?

[Walesa] It did not happen quite like that. I stopped the strike on a Thursday. On the Monday I had received a report from Szczecin: They were going to hold out for no more than 12 hours; the strike was breaking up; get us out of this, chairman, they were saying: It's hopeless. The message from Silesia was to come right away, the strike was at its end; out of 10 mines only 1 was on strike, and that partially. Gdansk, of course, was holding firm. I let things spin out from Monday through Wednesday. I told them: You can cry and shout but you are going to resist. By Thursday the strike had not spread. I had to end it. Did I have any other solution?

I took the sole decision possible in a democratic way. Young, ill-informed people shouted that Walesa was too weak, too soft. It was only later that I was able to demonstrate calmly all the calculations, and then all those who had criticized me begged my pardon.

[Kauffmann] You were right, then.

[Walesa] I'll give you another example: On 1 November the authorities announced the closure of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk. It was to be almost immediate, within a month. People were 100-percent in favor of fighting. I received a stream of telephone calls. I announced immediately a state of strike preparation. I did not have time to organize democratic negotiations—the struggle had to begin. The authorities then announced that there were still 2 years ahead of us. The 100 percent was now down to perhaps 15 percent. I had 6 hours to launch the battle, with no chance of mustering people to make a decision. I had to cancel my decision. Could the young people who made up that 15 percent be satisfied? No. But could I, as a politician, have decided otherwise? Again the first reaction of the young people was: "Walesa is afraid, he has lost his nerve; this is too much." But later they understood.

[Kauffmann] You are going to Paris for the anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights. What are your expectations?

[Walesa] This meeting is important to me. I would like in some way not necessarily to make a public address but to say to people off the record: "Think, great men of the world, about how to hasten the demise of the Stalin era in our countries and found systems based on the rights whose anniversary we are celebrating today. These rights

are very fine, but it is essential to think about their application rather than creating new ones. I was very happy to be invited to this meeting, but I did not expect to be able to come, so I had little time and am not prepared. In Paris I will be more the Nobel Prize winner. I am not going to emphasize the situation in Poland, because it is an interesting one at the moment and certain things are taking shape. I must deal with Polish matters as little as possible so as not to spoil these chances. My situation is thus very delicate.

### Public Favors Reform, Healing of Economy

*LD1212213688 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1846 GMT 12 Dec 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—Numerous public opinion polls and statements by people for the Polish mass media permanently show that Poles highly hold public peace and come out in favour of national agreement and reforms which are to heal the economy and better living conditions. The concept of the "round table" is one of the means designed to make the implementation of these goals easier.

Following are some statements by readers of the most popular Warsaw daily express WIECZORNY:

Helena Winnicka, a teacher of the 176 elementary school in Warsaw, said: I consider the discussion between Miodowicz and Walesa the most significant step in the direction of the "round table." The purposefulness of the meeting was unquestionable. But it left me slightly unsatisfied. It is a pity that Mr Miodowicz did not accept Lech Walesa's proposal to organize a meeting of experts which would precede the "round table" meeting. In my opinion such a meeting would be necessary as in Jablonna the two sides could start talks with concrete proposals. But I also hold a grudge against Mr Walesa. Why had he no comment on aggressive incidents in Gdansk? The point is that those people who take part in them consider themselves members of the union chaired by Mr Walesa. That is why I think that Lech Walesa who speaks of agreement should also assume responsibility for such incidents.

Janina Kowalczyk, a pensioner, said: The round table meeting must take place and no one should have any doubts about it. It is only a pity that there are people in Poland who on the one hand speak about agreement, while on the other stage demonstrations and aim at confrontation. Slogans they spread have nothing in common with agreement.

Tadeusz Zielinski, a psychiatrist, Psychiatric Hospital in Warsaw, said: The "round table" meeting is necessary, it seems to me it will bring stands closer and will also put the responsibility for Poland's destiny on the shoulders of the other side. However demonstrations, as for instance, the ones that took place in Jastrzebie recently, are definitely not conducive to the process. On the other hand, in order to win public support and confidence, the government must fully implement its plans. But I think that the climate for talks is getting better, with the televised debate best testifying to this.

Andrzej Buchert, electrician, Warsaw telecommunication equipment plant, said: I am a simple man and I do not know the intricacies of politics. But I know that the "round table" meeting is indeed necessary. It seems, however, that the other side insisting on the presence of some people somehow deliberately delays the meeting. While those people—well-known extremist activists—can be replaced with others. I hold it against Lech Walesa that he is doing too little to silence his vociferous colleagues.

### Shortcomings of Youth Law Assessed

*LD1112204288 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1724 GMT 11 Dec 88*

["First Assessments of Law on Youth"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11—"The weak point of the law is that it is too general and lacks concrete executive instructions for certain institutions and ministries. At the same time, the decisions contained in the law do not specify what instruments should be used in solving the most urgent problems of young people"—these are the basic objections to the law on the principles of youth's share in the state, social, economic and cultural life of the country introduced two years ago.

To youth organizations, the most important thing is that one of the articles of the law referring to consulting with these organizations the legal acts concerning young people is being ignored. [as received] The Union of Socialist Polish Youth ZSMP said that these articles that put factory management under the obligation to provide conditions for socio-professional adaptation of young employees are not respected. Production is more important than employees and that is why young people are simply neglected.

The Polish Student Association ZSP criticized what has been till now done in order to provide an equal access to higher education for youth from all social circles. According to ZSP, student grants do not make it possible for youth of poorer families to start studying at higher schools. For many young people the prospect of promotion is so distant that it ceases being an incentive.

### Jaruzelski Addresses Language Congress

*AU1312[illegible]3388 TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*
*8 Dec 88*

[Address by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of State, at the Second Polish Language Congress in Katowice on 7 December]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen. I am experiencing not insignificant jitters speaking before such company and on such a subject. There are two reasons for this. The first

has a purely personal character. I welcome with deep respect Professor Roman Kazminski who, half a century ago, taught me the language of my fatherland at secondary school. I wish, through his person, to pay homage to numerous generations of Polish language scholars and teachers of literature, the guardians of our mother tongue, and to all those who, during the partitions, in the conspiracy, in exile, or in schools and educational institutions of the independent republic, conveyed and continue to convey to young people the nation's most valuable spiritual treasure: knowledge of our language and literature, the ability to think and feel in Polish.

There is also a second reason why one should feel troubled appearing at this tribune. Our language, unfortunately, is not one of the easiest. Its flexibility, extolled by the poet, is sometimes deceptive. Politicians, therefore, often are worried by the fear of an unfortunate figure of speech or of a subconscious colloquialism, but is it only severe purists who give guarantees of total propriety, or do those who conceive language as a living agent of social communication do so as well? Language develops along with society. This is natural and unavoidable. The point, however, is for every new word and phrase to be in agreement with the rules of the native language created throughout the centuries. As is well known, things are not good in this respect. When I was preparing for today's meeting—and I felt a bit like I was facing a written test in Polish—my coworkers found a quote that could serve as the leading idea of our meeting. It comes from a letter of Zygmunt Krasinski to Delfina Potocka of January 1842. It says: The whole spirit, the whole intelligence of the nation, is comprised in its tongue. Time has not diminshed the accuracy of this view. When the language is impoverished and the word is (?overtaken) by the thought, the culture of the nation and mutual understanding become endangered. With this in mind, I express the hope that the congress debate will make public opinion aware, perhaps even as a matter of urgency, of the shortcomings of contemporary Polish. The bureaucratic and colloquial new speak [nowo mowa] is growing out of the real sociological background. Fortunately, we have far behind us the debates of the allegedly revolutionary process of the creation of languages. However, this does not mean that the revolutions do not leave any traces in our speech.

[Text] If the transformation that has taken place in Poland over the 40-year post-war period—the liquidation of illiteracy, the avalanche-like development of education and mass culture, the influence of various subcultures—had by the force of circumstance to bring, on the one hand the accelerated dying-off of more complicated grammatical forms, like the past perfect [czas zaprzeszzy], and on the other the quite frequent erosion of that which could be called the linguistic sense or instinct [as heard].

The lexical sphere, above all, is the reflection of the changes taking place. Poles of my generation undoubtedly remember the meaning of such words as koromyslo [a water carrier's yoke], strzecharz [a thatcher], szarwark [statutory work], arendarz [a lease-holder], and lusnia [a part of a cart]. Younger people would have to look them up in dictionaries. It is not even certain if they know precisely what Polish four-family huts [czworaki] or bell-pits [biedaszyby] were.

In turn, the progress of science and technology causes a fast flood of Polonized foreign-language words and phrases, or ones simply taken over in their original form. It is quite difficult for me to come to terms with the fact that the word sprzeg which once meant one of the parts of the harness of a team of horses today, on the other hand, as engineers explained to me, signifies a linkage in a computer, in any case still called, after the English, an interface.

In Poland, just as in other countries, schools and press, radio, and television standardize vocabulary and pronunciation. They popularize colloquial phraseology, It is an inevitable process connected with the very nature of the contemporary civilization. In the final reckoning, it surely is useful, but not devoid of the dangers of excessive uniformization and impoverishment.

From this rostrum I want to speak up both for the beauty of literary Polish and for the permanent right of the citizenship to colorful dialects, for grammatical and phonetic peculiarities from Silesia, the highlands, Kaszuby, or Kurpie. The national culture in all its pluralistic complexity and changeability obviously has its own tablets of stone, which are not to be violated under a threat of losing their authenticity, but its true wealth, remaining in concord with universally accepted norms, relies, above all on the scale of colors and diversity.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen. I take this opportunity to express my appreciation to all those who care for the beauty, dignity, and precision of our language; to the academics, literary historians, linguists, writers, actors, and journalists who popularize patterns of syntax, word formation, and correct pronunciation; to the parents and educators who teach young generations good Polish, and also to all our countrymen living abroad who maintain their native tongue.

In conclusion, it is true that difficulties have mounted up in Poland which are more serious than philology. We are living through a period of searching and arguments, hopes and uncertainties. The construction of the national accord is a process that demands, apart from patriotic motivations, also the feeling of responsibility and mental culture [kultura umyslowa]. Each action originates with a thought, and therefore with a word. Let us make efforts for the Polish words to be beautiful and wise. I wish you fruitful deliberations. [applause]

## Leaders' Public Appearances for 30 Nov-5 Dec

AU0912093388 [Editorial Report] The Polish press monitored from 1 to 7 December reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (sourceline given in parentheses):

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski toured coalmines in Silesia on 2 December, in connection with Miners Day. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 88 p 2)

Manfred Gorywoda and Zbigniew Michalek visited the "Przelom" ["Breakthrough"] Agricultural Cooperative on 1 December and awarded it with a state medal to mark its 35th anniversary. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Dec 88 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski and Zbigniew Michalek attended a meeting of chairmen of cooperative banks in Warsaw on 3 December. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Dec 88 p 2)

State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski received Jerzy Slowinski, director of LOT Polish Airlines, on 30 November. They discussed LOT's work and expansion plans. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Dec 88 p 2) He received students who had won prizes for best student of the year on 3 December. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Dec 88 p 2) He hosted a group of secondary school pupils from Skierniewice on 5 December. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Dec 88 p 2)

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski attended a meeting of the Main Council of Science and Higher Education on 1 December. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Dec 88 p 2)

Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a conference of PZPR voivodship committee economic secretaries on 30 November. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Dec 88 p 2) He received Eugenio Lari, World Bank director; and CSSR Ambassador Josef Havlin on 1 December. (TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Dec 88 p 2)

Jozef Baryla, PZPR Politburo member, visited the "Eltra" radio plant in Bydgoszcz on 4 December. (TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Dec 88 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received CSSR Ambassador Josef Havlin on 1 December. (TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Dec 88 p 2) He received an official RSFSR delegation headed by Lev Yermin, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, on 2 December, in connection with RSFSR Culture Days in Warsaw. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 88 p 4)

General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, chaired a meeting of the Council of Higher Military Training and Science on 1 December. (Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Dec 88 p 1) Stanislaw Ciosek, PZPR Politburo candidate member, attended a Warsaw seminar on the role and tasks of PRON on 2 December. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 88 p 5)

Gabriela Rembisz, PZPR Politburo candidate member, attended an annual conference of heads of PZPR voivodship letters and complaints commissions on 2 December. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 88 p 5)

Andrzej Wasilewski, Central Committee secretary, received foreign delegations taking part in the Warsaw conference of socialist publishers on 2 December. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 88 p 4) He attended the congress of Polish book publishers in Warsaw on 1 December. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Dec 88 p 2)

## Law on State Budget for 1989 Adopted

*AU0612135188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 88 p 2*

["Law on 1989 State Budget of the Socialist Republic of Romania"; adopted by the Grand National Assembly in Bucharest on 1 December]

[Text] The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts the present law.

Article 1. The 1989 State Budget of the SR of Romania features the centralized state revenues and their allocation in accordance with targets of the Uniform National Plan of Socioeconomic Development of the SR of Romania and of the Plan on the Development of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry, and Water Administration Adopted by the Grand National Assembly to finance the development of the national economy, social and cultural activities, the country's defense, and other social requirements under conditions of increased efficiency and of ensuring a financial and monetary balance.

The State Budget of the SR of Romania is set as follows:

| | million lei |
|---|---|
| a) Revenues | 423,473.5 |
| b) Expenses | 423,473.5 |

The overall expense volume of the state budget includes reserve funds of 70,896.7 million lei.

Article 2. Local budgets for 1989 are set as follows:

| | million lei |
|---|---|
| a) Revenues | 25,446.8 |
| b) Expenses | 14,078.7 |
| c) Surplus | 11,368.1 |

and are included in the State Budget of the SR of Romania.

Article 3. Revenues resulting from state economic units organized on the basis of economic-financial self-management and from cooperative and public units are set at 291,161.2 lei of which:

| | million lei |
|---|---|
| a) Payment out of profits made by state economic units | 55,220.2 |
| b) From goods turnover duties | 233,283 |
| c) From taxes levied on the incomes of cooperative and public units | 2,658 |

Article 4. State budget revenues from income taxes on the overall remuneration fund are set at 50,924 million lei; those from agricultural taxes in agricultural production cooperative farms at 1,590 million lei; and revenues from incomes and other taxes levied on the people are set at 5,727.4 million lei.

Article 5. State social insurance revenues for 1989 are set at 47,275 million lei.

Article 6. Expenditures to finance the national economy are covered by the funds of economic units, state budget allocations, and bank credits in accordance with legal provisions. State budget expenditures for this purpose are set at 183,373.4 million lei.

Article 7. Expenditures for scientific research, technological development, and the introduction of technical progress will be covered from funds set up in economic units in accordance with legal provisions and from state budget allocations. State budget expenses for this purpose are set at 1,103 million lei.

Article 8. Expenses for sociocultural activities financed, in accordance with legal provisions, from the state budget are set at 107,041.8 million lei.

Article 9. State budget expenses for the operation of state power and administration bodies and for judicial bodies of the Prosecutor's Office are set at 4,000.7 million lei.

Of those expenditures, 3 million lei are allocated to the Grand National Assembly.

Article 10. Expenditures for the country's defense are set at 11,753.3 million lei.

Article 11. From the surplus in their budgets, the people's councils executive committees and bureaus will pay contributions in money to the state budget totaling 11,348.8 million lei in order to set up the fund for our society's overall development.

Article 12. The state budget estimates on revenues represent minimum tasks to be fulfilled while the provisions on expenditures are maximum limits that may not be exceeded.

Article 13. The Council of Ministers will take steps to ensure that the ministries and the central and local bodies, central departments, and enterprises, together with the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, and banks act to:

a) Improve the activity of all units in keeping with the principles of the economic-financial mechanism; use all production capacities in keeping with planned parameters; utilize material, labor, and financial resources with

maximum efficiency and in accordance with approved norms; ensure an increased profitability of each economic unit, product, and activity, so that each leu spent or invested will yield maximum efficiency and contribute to constantly increasing outputs and profits;

b) Completely fulfill the itemized production plan, primarily the export plan, at a high technical and qualitative level, and the sold and paid for commodity production plan by striving to manufacture products characterized by high technical-functional and economic parameters, which will make better use of raw and other materials, of fuels, and energy, and will be competitive in foreign markets;

c) Reduce fuel, energy, raw, and other material consumption; increase labor productivity; improve the quality and performance of products in accordance with program provisions aimed at perfecting the organization and modernization of production processes, so as to ensure the firm implementation of programs for constantly reducing production costs and observing production costs stipulated by economic-financial norms for products and groups of products;

d) Firmly apply the amended system of setting production costs and tariffs that are to contribute to activating the factors for an intensive development of the national economy and to placing stress on the qualitative aspect of activities in all areas; strengthen control, order, and discipline in setting and applying prices and tariffs; and ensure the stability of prices, including prices for consumer goods and services;

e) Ensure that each economic unit fulfills its task of accumulating planned funds and fulfills its obligations to the budget by making payments from its profits, paying goods turnover taxes, and by other payments stipulated by law; and that each unit secures and utilizes its own funds, in keeping with the law, to finance investment projects and ensure the circulating capital and the personnel's material incentive;

f) Make most efficient use of funds available to units; ensure an increased rotation of circulating capital; strictly observe norms for stock reserves and regulations for the planned circulating capital; secure the necessary supplies of raw and other materials strictly in keeping with the requirements of the production contracted for; speed up, in a proper way, customs formalities for and deliveries of the commodities stipulated in contracts with foreign partners, and prevent excess of stocks;

g) Strengthen control over bookkeeping documents for goods deliveries, operations, and services, by speeding up the cashing of payments, eliminating unjustified refusals to pay, and making payments in accordance with legal provisions immediately after goods have been received, so as to speed up payments and preserve the solvency; make sure that economic units make more efficient use of bank credits, that payments are made when due, and that there are no delays;

h) Use with maximum efficiency the units' own funds and those allocated from the state budget for socioecultural, administrative, and other activities; restrict maintenance and operational expenditures, as well as repairs of buildings and installations to what is strictly necessary; efficiently use the material base, increase the units' own incomes, and raise the degree of self-financing of sociocultural and other institutions;

i) Constantly exercise an exacting financial control, primarily preventive control, in all socioeconomic areas to make sure that the plan discipline, contract and financial provisions are strictly observed, and that material, labor, and financial resources are used with greater efficiency.

Article 14. The State Budget is implemented under the guidance and supervision of the Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers will periodically examine the implementation of the State Budget, the centralized plan of the socioeconomic activity, and the other financial plans and will work out the necessary measures to achieve the overall revenues stipulated in the State Budget and the other financial plans; make expenditures in accordance with the stage of fulfilling plan tasks, under conditions of increased efficiency and by observing the law; achieve the overall revenues from the income and expense budgets of the ministries, the other central and local bodies, central departments, enterprises, and institutions; apply a strict system of savings; strengthen order and discipline in the management of material and financial assets; and maintain a financial, monetary, and hard currency balance.

Article 15. To increase the economic efficiency of funds allocated for investments and to eliminate and prevent the stagnation of funds, the Council of Ministers will take steps to ensure that the ministries, the other central and local bodies, central departments, and enterprises, together with the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, the Ministry of Finance, banks, and the Council for Coordination of Investments take action to: Thoroughly corroborate the technical-economic documentation for investment projects; judiciously allocate material and financial resources; further reduce investment costs by applying the most efficient technologies and constructive solutions; revise standard blueprints and reduce construction-assembly operations within the total volume of investments; reduce the consumption of construction materials; broadly use prefabricated materials; observe planned deadlines for beginning and finishing investment projects; put all planned production capacities into operation; achieve all planned parameters; make rational use of materials and manpower on construction

sites; fully eliminate waste; and reduce the stagnation of funds in unfinished investment projects and in equipment exceeding the planned duration on a given construction site.

Article 16. The Council of Ministers will take steps to ensure that the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, banks, ministries, central departments and enterprises producing goods for export, and other foreign trade enterprises will take steps to completely fulfill the export plan and honor contracts on schedule; manufacture quality products characterized by high technical and functional parameters, reduced material and energy consumption, and products which can compete, from all points of view, with the best such products in world markets; diversify trade forms and expand market outlets; fulfill all international cooperation ventures; conclude long-term contracts; see to it that the prices on foreign markets match the planned minimum levels, and strictly observe the approved return rates in order to ensure a higher foreign currency efficiency.

At the same time, they will take steps to reduce or replace certain imports, to ensure the strict observance of the envisaged equilibrium of the balance of trade and of foreign payments, and to cash all foreign currency dues from foreign partners on schedule and under conditions agreed upon with regard to foreign currency rights.

Article 17. The ministries, other central and local bodies, and the working people's councils in central departments and enterprises, together with financial-banking, planning, and supply bodies will work to ensure that economic and financial indicators are completely achieved and will take steps to perfect activities in accordance with the principles of the economic-financial mechanism, reduce production costs, make sure that each unit sets up its own fund for socioeconomic development at the envisaged level and in accordance with legal provisions, and ensure the solvency of all economic units and the observance of approved economic-financial norms.

At the same time, they will take measures to make sure that all economic units have clear daily records of all raw and other materials, of semifabricated and finished products, that they store, preserve, and manage them with care and responsibility by observing the norms on stocks envisaged by law.

Article 18. The Ministry of Finance, together with the State Planning Committee, banks, ministries, the other central and local bodies will monthly examine the implementation of the State Budget and the centralized financial plan of socioeconomic activity, take steps to ensure the complete achievements of revenues, and make sure that expenses are made in keeping with the fulfillment of plan tasks and under conditions of greater efficiency, that financial-banking control in all areas is strengthened and that the financial, monetary, and foreign currency balance is preserved.

At the same time, the collective leadership bodies in ministries, central departments, enterprises and institutions, together with the financial-banking bodies, will examine monthly the implementation of the income and expense budget of each unit and will establish measures to ensure the achievement of the envisaged revenues, make sure that expenses are constantly cut back, that profits, profitability, and economic efficiency increase, that obligations to the State Budget are fully honored, any kind of waste is eliminated, order and discipline in managing material and financial assets are strengthened, and that the solvency of all economic units is ensured at all times.

Article 19. The Executive Bureaus of Working People's Councils and the leading cadres in socialist units are responsible for taking all necessary measures and creating conditions to ensure the observance of the plan discipline, to strengthen control over the production process, ensure the observance of economic-financial norms stipulated by law, the most efficient spending of funds, the rational administration of our wealth, and the protection and development of socialist ownership.

Similarly, steps will be taken to intensify financial control in units; ensure that material and monetary funds are used in accordance with plan tasks; that expenses and funds envisaged in the revenue and expenditure budget are observed, and that at least the planned levels of profits and returns are achieved.

Article 20. The Executive Bureaus of County People's Councils and of Bucharest Municipality will take steps to appropriately implement their own budget revenues and expenditures, and the planned budget surplus.

Similarly, the Committees and Executive Bureaus of People's Councils are responsible for the fact that all socialist units, irrespective of their subordination, achieve the revenues stipulated by the State Budget.

The Committees and Executive Bureaus of People's Councils will take steps to ensure an increase in the revenues of local budgets and the rational use of material and financial resources available under conditions of maximum socioeconomic efficiency and by observing the financial discipline, the country's laws, and by eliminating any kind of waste in order to increase the degree of self-financing of territorial-administrative units, and to intensify their contribution to setting up the fund for our society's overall development.

At the same time, they will take steps to reduce expenditures from local budgets by building sociocultural, economic, and civic-urban establishment with people's

contributions in money and work under conditions stipulated by law, by attracting the people to a greater extent to activities aimed at improving the image of localities, by expanding the self-management of sociocultural and other units, and by better utilizing the material base at the disposal of units.

Article 21. The financial-banking council, the Ministry of Finance, and banks, together with the ministries and the other central and local bodies, will take steps to ensure the firm application of the economic-financial mechanism in the economy, the implementation of economic-financial self-management in socialist units, the strict observance of approved economic-financial norms and regulations, a strict savings system in expenses, regardless of what funds will cover those expenses, the introduction of order and a firm plan, contract, and financial discipline, correct and up-to-date records on assets, and effective solutions to the financial problems that arise.

Article 22. The Supreme Court of Financial Control, the Ministry of Finance, and banks will act, together with economic units, central departments, ministries, and the other central and local bodies, to exert exacting preventive financial control over the economy to rationally and effectively administer material and financial assets, ensure the observance of the country's laws, and protect the integrity of socialist ownership.

Article 23. The indicators envisaged in the State Budget and in the centralized financial plan for 1989 will be distributed among plan executors by State Council decree.

Article 24. The general balance sheet for the 1987 budget is adopted, with revenues totaling 334,627,819,523 lei, and expenditures totaling 281,426,001,092 lei, with a surplus of 53,201,818,431 lei, of which 53,042,046,728 lei were recorded in the national budget, and 159,771,703 lei in local budgets constituting circulating funds for self-financing purposes at the disposal of Executive Committees of People's Councils.

## PEC Member Olteanu Addresses RCP Plenum

*AU0612145788 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Dec 88 p 5*

["Speech by Comrade Constantin Olteanu," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, at the joint session of the plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee and other workers democracy bodies, in Bucharest 29 November]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades: An event of historical importance in the life of the party and of our whole nation, the joint session of the plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee and the bodies of revolutionary workers democracy is taking place in an atmosphere of enthusiastic patriotic awareness, generated by the masterly speech of the general secretary of our party and the president of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our much beloved and esteemed leader, an outstanding politician and exceptional revolutionary, who, with exemplary devotion, has devoted his whole life and activity to the triumph of the supreme aspirations of our nation and to the cause of peace and international cooperation.

A brilliant example of a comprehensive materialist-dialectical and historical analysis of the road travelled by the Romanian people throughout their existence and an example of scientific and comprehensive application of the rich Romanian experience in building the new system, the speech presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the general secretary of our party, makes a brilliant evaluation of the current stage traveled by our country and, on this basis, outlines directions for Romania's development in the future, up to the year 2000 and beyond, in complete accordance with the fundamental interests of our people. Through its political and theoretical outlook, this impressive document is a brilliant and clearsighted program of revolutionary work and action, and its unflinching implementation will open up a new and higher stage from a qualitative point of view on the path of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of ensuring Romania's advance toward communism. Likewise, the speech delivered by our party secretary general makes a priceless contribution to enriching the thesaurus of the national and universal revolutionary thinking and practice and opens up new paths to the achievement of the ideals of freedom, progress, and peace of all peoples.

As so often happens in the period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress—a moment of decisive importance in building socialism and communism on Romanian soil, a moment which marked a new era in the comprehensive assertion of our people's creative potential and opened up a new road for the prospective, renewing thinking, and returned to our people their sense of power and ability to forge their future in accordance with their wishes—we are again witnesses to and participants in one of the great events which have a decisive influence on the steady revolutionary process in our homeland.

Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, looking back to the wonderful road we have travelled during this period, we can understand better the historic role played by the Ninth Party Congress in reviewing—under the impetus of your brilliant theoretical and practical work—the whole strategy of building socialism and of promoting a new, advanced, and scientific concept about the major directions of successfully carrying out the vast process of building the new system and of perfecting and organizing our socioeconomic, political, and cultural life, in accordance with the specific conditions prevailing in each stage of our country's development.

Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the exceptional speech you delivered at the opening session of this plenary meeting, confers new and brilliant dimensions to the ideological program of the party, elaborated through your initiative and with your decisive contribution. All of us, who are active in the field of propaganda and ideology, consider that your theses and ideas on strengthening the organizational and political-ideological activity of the party, on the role and social functions of ideology, on the contents and the way of developing the patriotic and revolutionary awareness of masses, on the complex activity of molding the new-type of man, with an advanced, materialist-dialectical thinking, who is able to understand the processes and phenomena in nature and society and is able to actively participate in the activity of transforming these processes, who knows and observes the laws of our country, who is characterized by honesty and correctness, promotes the norms and principles of the communist way of work and life, and who is a conscious and devoted builder of socialism and who is proud of being a citizen of present-day Romania, are particularly significant and topical.

With profound feelings of respect and esteem, we pay an ardent homage to you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General, brilliant leader of our party and state, hero among the heroes of our nation, ardent revolutionary and patriot, for your constant care and concern for the communist education and the cultural development of the people, for continuously raising their material well-being, and for raising socialist Romania to new peaks of progress and civilization.

Likewise, we extend our full gratitude and we pay a respectful and ardent homage to the much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, front-ranking militant of our party and state, and eminent scientist of world renown, for her outstanding contribution to elaborating and implementing the programs for socioeconomic development and to ensuring the continuous progress of the Romanian science, education, and culture and its more marked prestige throughout the world.

Esteemed comrades, as it was mentioned in the masterly speech delivered by our party secretary general, the comprehensive democratic discussions that preceeded the current plenary meeting within all party, mass, and civic organizations and bodies, in the press, on the radio and television, virtually in all of society, as a true school for political education, clearly reflected the fact that the domestic and foreign policy promoted by Socialist Romania represents the will of the people, the unanimous determination of the working people to work closely united around the party and around our illustrious leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to ensure the implementation of the objectives of the 13th RCP Congress and of the Party National Conference.

The picture of the great revolutionary changes that have taken place in Romanian society, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, in the socioeconomic area and in the other fields of activity, was presented with outstanding accuracy in the speech of the party secretary general, and pride of place was given to the political-ideological and cultural-educational activities, as part and parcel of the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our whole ideological front fully comprehend critical remarks, requirements, and tasks you outlined and understands that we should work with devotion, communist responsibility, and revolutionary spirit in order to raise the political-ideological and cultural-educational activities to higher levels of quality. The party propaganda will steadily focus on studying and thoroughly comprehending Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's work of outstanding significance and his profound scientific concept of building the new system with the people and for the people, in accordance with the objective laws and in the concrete historical conditions in our country, and not according to borrowed "models." In light of the guidelines so clearly outlined by you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General, we will continue to work to increase the leading role of the party and ensure its assertion as the vital core of our whole society, to constantly develop and strengthen the socialist ownership, as the basis of our country's steady progress, and to understand the new functions of the socialist state as the state of the revolutionary workers democracy and understand the complex phenomena and processes of the present-day world.

As you have frequently asked us to act, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we will work and see to it that the political-ideological and the cultural-educational activities are carried out strictly in accordance with the requirements of the life and of our homeland's many-sided progress, so that the core of our whole activity should be among people, in the productive units, in enterprises, and in institutions, where virtually the party policy is being implemented and where the plans and programs for Romania's socioeconomic development are being fulfilled. We will constantly work to continuously perfect the forms and methods of our activity an see to it that the highest evaluation criteria of the results and the efficiency of the political-ideological and educational-cultural activities should be the degree of communist and revolutionary awareness and responsibility, of discipline, and devotion with which the creators of material and cultural goods fulfill their tasks and duties. In this respect, we, together with the party bodies and organizations, will make steady efforts to make better use of our means so that in the party instruction, in the propaganda through conferences, in the mass political work, in studying social sciences, and in the whole party propaganda, we eliminate the schematic and descriptive treatment—far from reality—of the tasks and daily concerns of the working people's collectives.

At the same time, we will confer a strong combat and revolutionary character to our whole political-educational activity, greatly reflecting the superiority and viability of

socialism, the law-like character of our people's advance toward the most just and humane system, the only one which is capable of finding complete and final solutions to the major problems of the existence of mankind and of the people's relations with society and is able to ensure the fundamental right to work, education, to a free and dignified life, and to peace.

An important part of the patriotic and revolutionary education of the working people, particularly of the young people,—as you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have emphasized—is the study of our glorious history, forged with the work and struggle of all those who preceeded us throughout time, of the wonderful heroic deeds of the Romanian people in the battles fought for the defense of our forefathers' land, for freedom and independence, for forging and strengthening our nation and the united national state, which was crowned by the great act of 1 December 1918 and found a brilliant fulfillment in the glorious years of our times. Precisely this is the reason why we will increasingly involve ourselves in studying and writing the unique and uniform history of our nation and in educating the working people in the spirit of the most progressive traditions of the struggle waged by the workers class, the communist party, and our people. Likewise, on the basis of your magnificent work, we will pay greater attention to elaborating and publishing works in the field of philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, and in other fields of social sciences.

In the literary-artistic creation, where alongside many valuable works some fiction was published, films and plays were shown, and radio and television programs broadcast, which lacked originality and had a poor content of ideas and a low artistic level, we will unswervingly militate to promote works with a high ideological, political, and esthetic content, which are capable of reflecting the enthusiastic work of our people, in all its complexity and greatness, and the beauty of the current heroic times. Making better use of their potential, the press, radio, and television will substantially increase their contribution—by a greater involvement in the dynamics of our homeland's socioeconomic life—in studying and implementing the objectives of our country's present and future development, and in the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state.

Taking into consideration the current shortcomings in the ideological, propaganda, and publishing work and in the activities of the cultural and art institutions—for which a great responsibility rests with the propaganda and press activists—we will constantly militate to strengthen and educational and formative character of all our actions. Likewise, by making a more efficient use of the creative activity of the generous framework of the "Song to Romania" national festival, we will work to ensure that our arts and culture enrich the national cultural patrimony with new works inspired from the vivid source of realities and permeated by a strong patriotic and revolutionary ardor, which make a contribution to shaping the features of the new type of man, as is reflected in the work of our party secretary general.

Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, with great respect we ask you to allow us to express our ardent thanks and our profound gratitude for the great support you are permanently granting us and, at the same time, we assure you that, by unswervingly promoting a dynamic and revolutionary style in our work, we will spare no efforts in eliminating—in the shortest time possible—the shortcomings from the field of political-ideological and cultural-educational activities which are in contrast with the general development of the production forces and production relations and of our socialist society.

[Text] We voice the Romanian people's desire for peace, progress, and freedom, which is greatly reflected in the foreign policy of our party and state, whose brilliant representative and tireless promoter you are, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, front ranking personality of the international communist and workers movement, who is unanimously acknowledged and respected in the world as the Great Hero of Peace; we will make greater use of all our means of propaganda to systematically and convincingly present the constructive initiatives of Socialist Romania and of its illustrious president to find solutions to the fundamental problems of our times, for the benefit of the peoples and in the interest of establishing a new economic order and a better and more just world.

Esteemed comrades, in the past few memorable days we have experienced truly enthusiastic moments, which, through the document of exceptional significance presented to the plenum by our much beloved and esteemed leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, will be forever inscribed with golden letters in the history of the Romanian Communist Party. In complete accordance with the thoughts and feelings of the communists and of our whole socialist nation, we make a solemn pledge to the plenum and to you, much beloved and esteemed secretary general to do all we can and see to it that the entire political-ideological and cultural educational activity is asserted as a strong and dynamic political force of the Romanian society; we will do all we can in order to meet the 14th RCP Congress and the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution with new, brilliant achievements and deeds, in accordance with the years of glory and greatness of the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era."

### Ambassador Dolgu Addresses UN Geneva Session

*AU1412195088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1936 GMT 14 Dec 88*

["Romanian Address at UN Session on the Palestinian Question"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Geneva, AGERPRES, 14/12/1988—Addressing the 43rd UN Session which debates the Palestinian question, the Romanian representative, ambassador Gheorghe

Dolgu showed that the current examination in the General Assembly of this problem is of special importance. The revolt of the Palestinian population in the occupied Arab territories and their determination to reject any foreign domination, the convincing confirmation—in this way too—of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the unique representative of the Palestinian people, the wide-ranging movement of international solidarity and sympathy, and the Algiers resolutions of the Palestinian National Council are as many new elements which allow us to consider that favourable conditions are in place for the success of the efforts devoted to the peaceful settlement of the Palestinian issue.

All these—the speaker pointed out—are another opportunity for the UN to use to advantage its position in support of peace initiatives, to make a decisive contribution to the inception of a process conducive to the establishment of a just and durable peace in that region.

Romania—he further showed—has always paid special attention to the Palestinian issue, constantly stating for a global, peaceful and political settlement of the problems in that area, for a just and durable peace in the Middle East. It had and, has in view solutions to guarantee the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, the creation of an independent Palestinian state included, the existence of all states in that region, Israel included, within safe and recognized frontiers. Romania has active links with all the countries in that region, inspired by the wish to make its contribution, as best it can, to the settlement of the existing problems. Romania has been one of the first countries to have underscored that a UN-sponsored international conference was both necessary and topical, believing that a settlement in that framework was both possible and necessary, as it would meet both the interests of the Palestinian people and of the State of Israel and serve the cause of peace and security in that part of the globe and the world over.

Referring to the resolutions endorsed by the Palestinian National Council at the Algiers session, the speaker pointed out that their legitimate character, seriousness and realism were irrefutable. It was mentioned that, in keeping with its principled and consistent position, Romania recognized the new Palestinian state. The Romanian Government had welcomed and approved also the other decisions made in Algiers, which express the wish to work for a negotiated settlement of the Mideast questions, in the spirit and on the basis of the resolutions no. 242 and 338 of the Security Council, implicitly of the recognition of the State of Israel, in parallel with the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and independent statehood.

Given the new conditions, the latest developments in the Palestinian issue, the recognition, the recognition of the new Palestinian state by a growing number of countries—the UN should be increasingly concerned to convene a conference to solve the Mideast situation, establish a just and durable peace in that part of the globe.

## Condolences at USSR Embassy Comparison

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 13 December carries on page 3 the 370-word report on the "Presentation of Condolences at the USSR Embassy" by party and state leaders in connection with the death toll in the earthquake in Armenia. Comparison of the press version with the report headlined "USSR Embassy Receives Official" published in the 13 December East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 43, shows the two to be identical except as follows:

Last paragraph, end of only sentence reads:...of foreign affairs. [new paragraph]

Condolences were also presented on behalf of the National Council of Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, the National Committee for Science and Technology, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions, the National Council of Women, the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the National Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Managerial Council of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association, as well as by representatives of working people's collectives from enterprises, science and cultural institutions, by unions of creativity, and other Bucharest institutions.

Condolences were also presented by chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest and by members of the diplomatic corps.

At the General Consulate of the USSR in Constanta, condolences were presented by local party and state bodies, by mass and public organizations, and by numerous working people from institutions and enterprises of Constanta Municipality and County. (supplying additional passage)

## Daily Reviews Disarmament Proposals

*AU1412163688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1559 GMT 14 Dec 88*

["The Romanian Disarmament Program"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/12/1988—President Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the recent national forum of Romanian democracy brought again into the focus the cardinal significance of disarmament as the foremost demand of the present-day world at a crucial time for the future of world civilization, newspaper SCINTEIA writes in a commentary in its 14 December issue.

Showing that the main lines of a bold yet realistic programme of action that touches on all essential aspects of a disarmament process are reiterated, the newspaper says: The Romanian concept gives absolute priority to nuclear disarmament. This requires that simultaneous action be taken in several directions, with the implementation of the Soviet-American accord to halve nuclear

strategic weapons being the most pressing. Also, that compensatory solutions be discarded and all plans to modernize and improve very short range nuclear arms and other nuclear devices be dropped, and the manufacture of new nuclear arms as well as their testing be stopped. Since the liquidation of nuclear arsenals concerns not only the two superpowers, but all the countries, the world community, the proposal for a general agreement of both the USSR and the USA and all nuclear weapon states, and the non-nuclear states assumes special significance as leading to the gradual elimination of all nuclear arms by the end of the millenium.

The disarmament programme promoted by Romania naturally includes the outer space, an end to projects like the "star wars" that pursue to extend the arms race into space, through a general accord that should forbid the use of outer space for military purposes and promote its use only for peaceful purposes under proper control.

Showing that conventional weapons should be reduced substantially in Europe and the world, the newspaper says that every step in that direction would be welcome. Reminding Romania's 5-10 percent cut in arms, troops and military spending two years ago, precisely to meet that demand, SCINTEIA writes: Romania stands for the opening of negotiations between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the Nato countries—in a new framework and as soon as possible—to reduce conventional arms, troops and military spending, in which the other European states should take part according to an agreed formula.

Another basic element of the Romanian disarmament programme is the elimination of chemical and all other weapons of mass destruction. In context, Romania favours a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons without foreign military bases in the Balkans, an area of peaceful cooperation and good neighbourliness. Furthermore, it restates the significance of such areas in central and northern Europe and on other continents.

Romania, like other socialist countries, stands for the simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO, in consideration of the fat that not only can military pacts give no guarantee, but they build tension and mistrust internationally.

It underlines the demand for a broad cooperation among all states, in the absence of which no progress can be made on the path of disarmament. Really viable solutions can be found only if all states without exception take part on fully equal terms, SCINTEIA winds up its commentary.

## Ceausescu Greets Jaruzelski on Anniversary

*AU1412191788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1816 GMT 14 Dec 88*

["Congratulatory Telegram"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/12/1988—To Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party:

Dear Comrade Jaruzelski,

In behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, of its Central Committee and on my own behalf, I address you, the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, all working people from the Polish People's Republic, the warmest congratulations and a friendly salute on the 40th foundation anniversary of the Polish United Workers' Party and the 70th foundation anniversary of the Communist Party of Poland.

The two events are landmarks in the chronicle of the friendly Polish people's heroic struggle for national and social liberation, for the building of socialism on the Polish soil.

Under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the whole Polish nation, inspired by strong patriotic feelings, secured Poland's rebirth, the implementation of deep-going revolutionary changes, important successes in the country's socio-economic development.

The communists, our whole people, supporting the Romanian-Polish traditions of militant solidarity, follow with keen interest the persevering efforts made by Polish Communists and all working people for Poland's socialist renewal.

On this occasion too we express our firm belief that working together in keeping with the summit understandings reached in Bucharest and Warsaw, the friendly and cooperative links between the Romanian Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party, between Romania and Poland will develop continually, in the interests and to the benefit of the Romanian and Polish peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace.

I avail myself of this opportunity to heartily wish you, the communists, the whole Polish people other greater successes in the implementation of the Tenth Party Congress resolutions, in the work of socialist construction in your homeland.

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party

## Dascalescu Receives Albanian Finance Minister

*AU1312193788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 13 Dec 88*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/12/1988—Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, received on Tuesday, December 13, Andrea Nako, minister of finance of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, now in Bucharest for the signing of a commercial protocol on commodity exchanges and payments between the two countries in 1989.

During the talk conducted on the occasion, emphasis was placed on the links of economic collaboration between the two countries which develop on the basis of full equality of rights and mutual advantage. Possibilities were highlighted of further expanding Romanian-Albanian cooperation in areas of mutual interest, of boosting and diversifying bilateral commercial exchanges. The further intensification of economic collaboration and cooperation between Romania and Albania was shown to be in the interest of the two countries, of the cause of peace and understanding in the world.

The interview was attended by Ioan Ungur, Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Also present was Zoi Toska, Albania's ambassador in Bucharest.

### Ungur Signs Exchange Protocol With Albania

*AU1312193588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 13 Dec 88*

["Romanian-Albanian Economic Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/12/1988—Talks were held in Bucharest between Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Andrea Nako, minister of finance of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. On the occasion the sides looked into the present state and the prospects of development of the Romanian-Albanian commercial relations in areas of mutual interest.

At the conclusion of the talks, the two ministers signed the commercial protocol on the exchange of goods and the payments between the government of Romania and the government of Albania in 1989, which provides for further enhancing the commercial exchanges between the two countries.

Zoi Toska, Albanian ambasador to Bucharest, was present.

### Coman Meets Greek New Left Party Leader

*AU0612203088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 6 Dec 88*

[Text] Athens AGERPRES, 6/12/1988—On behalf of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, Leonidhas Kirkos, secretary general of the CC of the New Hellenic Left Party, was conveyed a comradely salute as well as wishes of personal health and success in his activity.

Thanking, Leonidhas Kirkos asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a warm friendly salute and best wishes of health and personal happiness, and the friendly Romanian people wishes of progress and prosperity.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call on the secretary general of the CC of the New Hellenic Left Party by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who is the RCP representative at the events arranged on the 70th foundation anniversary of the Communist Party of Greece.

### RCP Message to Greek Communist Party Congress

*AU0512203888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1921 GMT 5 Dec 88*

["Message of Salute Addressed by the CC of the RCP to the Communist Party of Greece"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Athens AGERPRES, 5/12/1988—During a festive meeting held in Athens on the occasion of 70 years since the foundation of the Communist Party of Greece, on behalf of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party, of General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the CC of the Communist Party of Greece and all the party members were addressed a revolutionary salute, cordial congratulations and best wishes.

Well known in Romania is the fierce fight full of self-denial and sacrifice fought by the communist and the other progressive and democratic forces, by the friendly Hellenic people against fascism and foreign domination, for national and social liberation, for freedom, independence and for building a better life, reads the message while stressing that the Romanian people follow with vivid interest and deep-going sympathy the sustained activity carried out by the Communist Party of Greece for promoting the fundamental interests of the working class, of all the working people, for the fulfillment of their vital and just aspirations after justice, freedom and welfare.

Recalled in the message are the good relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration established between the RCP and the Communist Party of Greece, while the conviction is expressed that these relations will grow stronger in future, in the interest and for the benefit of the friendly Romanian and Hellenic peoples, of the general cause of socialism peace, of the unity of the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces everywhere in the struggle to implement disarmament and strengthen international peace and security, for the triumph of the ideals of social and national justice, independence and progress nurtured by all the peoples.

Setting out from the role and responsibility incumbent on revolutionary and progressive forces today, reads the message, the RCP has militated consistently to strengthen its collaboration and solidarity with all the communist and workers parties, based on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for independence and noninterference in domestic affairs, for each party's right to

work out self-dependently its own political line, the revolutionary ways and means, in keeping with the concrete circumstances in its country.

### Leaders' Public Appearances for 4-10 Dec

AU1012192688 [Editorial Report] Romania media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the period of 4-10 December (sources of each report given in parentheses):

President Nicolae Ceausescu received Ilyas Frayj, mayor of Bethlehem City, on 6 December. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 88)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received the new Moroccan ambassador to Bucharest, on 7 December. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 7 Dec 88) (filed as AU0712183788) and on the same day he received the special envoy of the Australian daily THE AUSTRALIAN, Nicholas Rothwell, to whom he gave an interview. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1748 GMT 7 Dec 88)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received the departing Brazilian ambassador (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1858 GMT 9 Dec 88), chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee on economic issues (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2035 GMT 9 Dec 88), and received a DPRK parliamentary delegation, on 9 December. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1953 GMT 9 Dec 88)

Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee met Greek New Left Party Leader, Leonidhas Kirkos, in Athens on 6 December. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 6 Dec 88)

Nicolae Constantin, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee met with Portuguese party leaders in Lisbon, on 6 December. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2013 GMT 6 Dec 88)

Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, met a DPRK parliamentary delegation in Bucharest, on 6 December. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 6 Dec 88)

Ion Ursu, member of the RCP Central Committee and first vice-chairman of the National Committee for Science and Technology met with Boris Tolstykh, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and with Guriy Marchuk, president of the Academy of the USSR, in Moscow on 9 December. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 9 Dec 88)

## Serbian LC Commission Upholds LCY Expulsions

*LD1512020288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—The Statutory Commission of the Serbian LC upheld a ruling expelling Dzevdet Hamza, Ismail Bajra, and Dusan Ristic from the LCY. At the same time, the Statutory Commission rejected complaints by the three former provincial officials against the ruling passed by the Kosovo LC Statutory Commission.

The decision to expel Hamza, Bajra, and Rustic was the result of the standpoints adopted by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee concerning the implementation of Point 18 of the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session. Dzevdet Hamza, former member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and of the SAP of Kosovo Presidency, was expelled from the LC after it was established that he had been partly responsible for incorrectly assessing the situation in Kosovo before and after hostile events in 1981. His responsibility was all the greater as at the time he was in charge of all-people's defense in the province. [passage omitted]

As stated in an explanation of the ruling on expulsion, Ismail Bajra's responsibility lay in the fact that, in his capacity of member of the SAP of Kosovo Presidency and of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, in practice he advocated things which contradicted his words. [passage omitted]

Commission members described as undeniable the assessment of the responsibility of Dusan Ristic, former deputy provincial secretary for internal affairs and former president of the Kosovo Assembly. He was held responsible for the Kosovo leadership's mistaken policy, for fomenting Serbian nationalism, and for other mistakes. He was also noted as being in agreement with Dzavid Nimani over many issues. The commission rejected Risitc's remarks that he was used as a scapegoat to maintain national balance in pronouncing political disciplinary measures for the situation in Kosovo.

The Statutory Commission today rescinded a decision by relevant Belgrade LC Commission providing for the expulsion from the LC of Branislav Milosevic, former president of the Serbian Committee for Culture, The statutory commission upheld Milosevic's complaint that a statutory mistake was made during the procedure to establish his responsibility when the municipal LC committee of the Stari Grad municipality of Belgrade failed to form a special working group to look into his case and instead discussed it as a part of a "package" of issues concerning relations within the party organization in the Rad publishing work organization. [passage omitted]

## Dragosavac Accused Over Conduct in Kosovo

*LD1012190688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 10 Dec 88*

[Text] Novi Sad, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The Solidarity Committee for Aid to Kosovo in Novi Sad has sent a telegram to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee in which charges are laid against Dusan Dragosavac, a member of the LCY Central Committee, for his behavior during his visit to Kosovo. The association believes that Dragosavac "has betrayed the truth and seriously jeopardized the efforts made by the whole of our country to improve the difficult situation in Kosovo".

## Pristina LC Discusses Kosovo Demonstrations

*AU0912165688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Dec 88*

[Text] Milivoje Mihajlovic reports from Pristina that the Presidium of the Pristina LC Communal Committee has discussed action to overcome the consequences of the demonstrations by Albanians in the capital of Kosovo.

The 5-day mass demonstrations by ethnic Albanians are an additional burden on an already complex situation. Interethnic distrust has deepened and single-nationality gatherings have been to the advantage of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins are most effected by this atmosphere and they are upset by the slow implementation of the conclusions of party plenums. They see these demonstrations by Albanians as direct pressure to emigrate and resistance to the stabilization of the situation. This was stressed by Zivojin Mitrovic, the Communai Committee secretary.

It was demanded during the debate that the responsible organs answer the question of who organized the demonstrations in Kosovo. It was insisted that the LCY Central Committee Presidium analyze the November events in Kosovo as soon as possible and thus prevent the consequences and the divisions that have arisen because of different appraisals.

It was heard today that the leadership in Kosovo is more divided than the people. LC policy on Kosovo has suffered the most serious defeat in the realm of interethnic relations. Albanian nationalism and separatism has managed to make families in some communities who have been neighbors and friends for centuries dig themselves into hostile trenches.

It was warned in the debate that the homogenization of Albanians is being built on invented pressure from Serbia.

The communal committee presidium rejected the unreasoned attacks on Husamedin Azemi. It was said that the aim of these tendentious accusations, that had been prepared in advance, was to discredit a personality who

had energetically supported the implementation of LCY policy. It was warned that such attacks want to silence proponents of positive changes. Scapegoats were being sought in some communities so that people could avoid accepting their own responsibility. It is worrying that as a rule alleged culprits were found among tested fighters against Albanian nationalism and separatism, it was said at today's session of the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidium.

### Federal Budget Increased for Second Time

*AU1412100688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Dec 88 p 7*

[J. Kesic report: "7,610 Billion in the Federal Coffers"]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec—This year's federal budget has been increased by 600 billion and now amounts to 7,610 billion dinars. These resources have been provided from the federation's sources of income (basic sales tax, customs duties, and so on) so that there will be no new burdens on the economy nor increased contributions to the federal coffers from the republics and provinces.

After many complications and delays, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces today endorsed a second increase to this year's federal budget. Out of 600 billion dinars, the largest share of funds will go to the Yugoslav People's Army which will receive 483.9 billion; 59.2 billion is planned for the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo; 34.9 billion for military pensions; 12 billion for the work of the federal organs (10 million for diplomatic-consulate representations and 2 billion for TANJUG), and 10 billion dinars is planned for the current budgetary reserves.

Even after two adjustments (the first was in July), this year's budget amounts to 6.32 percent of the social product, but according to the current regulations, it could amount to 7.5 percent. Thus, it has remained in debt to many of its recipients and to the Yugoslav People's Army most of all (880 billion dinars), as well as to Kosovo (44 billion dinars). If all the legal rights of the recipients were to be respected, then this year's budget would amount to 8,893.2 billion dinars, but because of the decision that overall spending in the country must be reduced, the budget is also smaller.

The chamber also endorsed a change to this year's decision on joint money issue and monetary policy. Because of negative trends in the economy in the first 9 months, it is not possible to maintain the financial frameworks that were established earlier, and therefore they have been increased. Thus, net bank advances for domestic purposes will increase by 37.2 percent by the end of 1988 instead of the 25.5 percent which was planned earlier. Moreover, the level of restrictiveness of the monetary policy will also increase from the envisaged 26.7 percent to 31.7 percent.

In order to alleviate the position of the economy to the same extent, the same decision reduces default (punitive) interest for loans from primary money issues that are not repaid within the set deadline. Up until now, it has been 50 percent greater than the discount rate of the National Bank of Yugoslavia but in future it will be only 10 percent of this rate raised to the annual level.

An amendment was also adopted to the law on this year's earnings of the federation which are used for economic expenses, so that an extra 78.4 billion dinars will be provided for these purposes by the end of the year. Out of this sum, 17.3 billion dinars will be allocated for advertising and tourism advertising aimed at foreign countries, 45.4 billion for subsidiaries for fertilizers, and 15.7 billion dinars for stimulating the technological development of the country. These resources have been provided by the federation's sources of income, primarily by customs duties.

### Mikulic, Korsec Debate Economic Policy

*LD1312231688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2226 GMT 12 Dec 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—At the end of the discussion at the LCY Central Committee this evening, FEC President Branko Mikulic said that Stefan Korosec's statement that "disorder in prices creates disorder in thinking and behavior" is reminiscent of the demand for a "model of order" in the price system.

He also objected to the claim that the economy is using high interest rates to pay its expenses. He said that this could cause suspicion of the real policy on interest rates. He considers controversial the proposition that no publically financed institutions should be exempt from the revision of the "right to spend."

Explaining that stance, Mikulic said "for instance, the FEC cannot propose to reduce military pensions, benefits for the disabled, and pensions for veterans of the national liberation struggle. This also is true of financing for the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. A responsible discussion on all this is needed in order to assess whether we can further reduce financing in this most sensitive area."

Reacting to a portion of Branko Mikulic's speech, Marko Orlandic said: One gets the impression that we have no real prospects for overcoming the present situation. Orlandic expressed concern over the fact that we will begin the new year with many unknown factors; we should be especially concerned that we have no clear program for halting and lowering inflation.

Our society must form teams which will provide clear programs in accordance with constitutional provisions and whose political mandate will be tied to these programs. According to Orlandic, we must urgently begin a discussion of everyone's responsibility for this economic policy and its results, which should be open to all institutions.

Replying to the FEC president's objections, Stefan Korosec categorically denied that his claim about the "disorder or prices" seems to imply the application of administrative measures. On the contrary, he said, it is possible to create order in the area of prices by economic measures.

Concerning the issue of "transferring the cost of interest rates to prices," Korosec also denied that his assessment can be understood as a "suspicion about the real interest rates," because otherwise he would not be for a market economy. But, he warned, the crux lies in the unsolved problem of working assets (which work organizations are solving by price increases).

However, Korosec confirmed word by word that he still maintains that no institution financed by social resources can be exempt in the revision of rights and programs. He explained that not everyone can have the same rights and programs—that is, can count on the same volume of resources—at a time when production is decreasing year after year, when the foreign debt (which is taking away 5 to 6 percent of the already decreased social product) is being rescheduled, as compared to when the economic growth was 4 to 5 percent per year, and when we had additional resources from foreign loans. These institutions cannot stay "holy and unassailable" in the new conditions, because the question is how can an anti-inflation policy succeed if it does not decrease public spending!

Korosec said categorically that that is not possible and we must tell the working class this. Inflation is the central political and economic question, but when the questions "where to reduce expenditure is posed, then there is no political agreement."

Although he had not been identified with proposing that one way for Yugoslavia to be included in the world economy is by "approaching the EEC," Korosec explained that what is at stake is "initiative in estimating." He said that the FEC compiles a study on each EFTA country and on every country that is negotiating with the EEC. Korosec said that this study will be "the basis for our decisions on authorised and competent bodies."

Replying to Marko Orlandic, FEC President Branko Mikulic said that the impression that "there are no prospects for getting out of the crisis" is unfounded.

If I did not believe that there are such prospects prospect, he said, I would not have been working for the past 2 years on a reform plan.

He reaffirmed that the FEC is providing "a clear program to cut inflation." He said that program can be contested," but then some other, better solution should be put forward."

## Bohinc Interviewed on Economic Reform

*AU1012213888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 88 p 5*

[Report on interview with Radoslav Bohinc, federal secretary for economy, by Blazo Sarovic: "This Will Be Something New"—date and place not given]

[Text] The 1st of January next year, when a series of new laws which are supposed to start the process of economic and social reforms come into effect, will also bring the uncertainty which this turnabout unavoidably carries in itself. Does the forthcoming economic reform represent the continuity or discontinuity of the Yugoslav economic policy? We asked Radoslav Bohinc, federal secretary for economy.

[Bohinc] I think that we are talking about fairly fundamental changes in the institutional conditions in society and the economy, and in this sense one could say that this is the beginning of a new period in the Yugoslav economy which, in a way, represents the discontinuity with the concept of the 1974 Constitution.

Breaking from the concept of the economy of association [asocijativna ekonomija] and understanding social property as a form of ownership, and understanding an integral market indeed represent an important turnabout in the institutional conditions of the Yugoslav economy.

However, changing institutional conditions only creates conditions for a new strategy and new prospectives in the economy. If we want our wishes and what we have conceived under the reform to happen, we need reforms in other sectors and structures of this society.

### Not Overnight

[Sarovic] According to the laws that are being prepared and are awaiting adoption, after the new year the Yugoslav economy should start operating under the market conditions. Is it possible to switch from what is in essence a consensus economy to the market economy with a purely administrative move?

[Bohinc] It is not possible to change life with decrees, or to create overnight new conditions or some other environment which would radically change relations in society. However, decrees, which is to say legal regulations, are creating preconditions for this process. On the 1st of January, when the basic reform acts become effective, possibilities for this process to take off will open up.

[Sarovic] The encounter with the market will be fierce and for many economic entities, unbearable. The collapse of work organizations under such conditions is a quite normal phenomenon which will bring to the surface many social problems. What will happen if the new way of conducting business affairs results in major social problems?

[Bohinc] Along with the program of the economic system's reform, it is necessary to develop a social program which will remove the negative implications of the process of recovering our economy. Of course there will be tremors because the switch to the market criteria of valuing labor and the results of labor will show that many work organizations which seem all right today because of office principles and help from the state, are in fact not such and are weak. Economic restructuring according to objective principles of evaluation will and must definitely result in weak economic entities dying out and new ones appearing. New regulations from the field of finance for the economy, market, and capital create the possibility of new economic entities entering the economic structure much faster, which is normal for a market economy. It is well-known that in the world, hundreds of thousands of enterprises appear and disappear every year, but in our country barely tens of enterprises do so.

[Sarovic] This is done in the world under other conditions and where different habits are practiced....

[Bohinc] This is done under the conditions of a market economy but as far as our habits are concerned, it would be good to free ourselves from them for once.

[Sarovic] However, what would happen if 50,000 people from 30 or 50 enterprises from different regions of Yugoslavia were to appear at the same time outside the Federal Assembly?

[Bohinc] Pressure from workers' gatherings on specific economic decisions is not acceptable as a general principle. I think that those who promise the workers higher incomes, while they are being pressured by these gatherings and without the workers knowing how these will be paid are making a mistake.

[Sarovic] You mentioned social programs. Who will meet the expenses and where does one find the money for these programs?

[Bohinc] I do not think that new funds should be set up for these purposes and thereby burden the economy even more. Resources for these cases should be provided within the framework of the existing system of social welfare and perhaps even on the principle of voluntary contributions from workers.

[Sarovic] Do you think that someone would give up a part of their income voluntarily?

[Bohinc] The principle of solidarity already exists in our society and perhaps it has even been exaggerated. I would not accept the view that there is no solidarity among workers. We must prepare ourselves for the fact that we will have conflict situations and will find solutions to them.

**Real, Estimated, Underestimated**

[Sarovic] After real, estimated, and target inflation, are we underestimating the fatal power of inflation over the economic organism when we use the term "underestimated" which is now in vogue or are we thus silently recognizing our inability to bring down inflation?

[Bohinc] I see no connection between these terms because all these expressions depend very much on our attitude to inflation. As far as my attitude to inflation is concerned, I have to say that inflation for me is the central issue.

Those who think that the FEC is underestimating inflation are not right. On the contrary, this is our main preoccupation.

We cannot be successful in our struggle with inflation if we do not change the institutional conditions of both the economic and the political frameworks because they are not creating conditions for an efficient economy.

Personally, I am convinced, and I am in a minority as regards this, that the correlation between the enormous burden on the economy and constant pressure on rising prices has appeared as the basic and additional cause of inflation, because of which the May measures were also less effective.

[Sarovic] No one knows yet how the transitional period, as a time when the economy adapts to the new conditions and which is regarded as a necessity, will look and what would need to be applied in this period. What do you imagine this period to be like?

[Bohinc] This is quite a long period which will begin on 1 January when only a few laws will come into effect. However, this does not also mean that all laws will be implemented from 1 January. The laws will have temporary provisions which will prevent the destruction of the institutions that we have before we have created new ones. The regulations which will bring essential institutional changes will have built-in provisions for gradual adaptation because for a certain period of time we will have a duality of the old and the new. These are normal things when such a transformation is involved. I will stress that the laws will include the broad opportunity for a new organizational structure to be established because one should not have regulations about rigid dates, and programs like this should be left to the economic entities with the obligation that this work is finished in the foreseeable future.

[Sarovic] How much chance is there of the period of reform that we are entering being realized?

[Bohinc] Preparation for the reform and all the preoccupations of this society and the action that it carries out are directed toward realizing the reform. I would not like to haggle over the percentage of how much will be realized.

[Sarovic] And what if it does not succeed after all?

[Bohinc] We are entering the reform in order for it to succeed....

[Sarovic] Do we have time for alternatives if this one turns out to be unsuccessful?

[Bohinc] Officially there is no reserve program and the only alternative is for us to return to the old. Since I know that the old one is useless, one should not abandon the reform regardless of the price of the social conflicts which will no doubt arise. Therefore, the alternative is a return to the old, and the old has no chance.

**Debts—A Bomb in One's Pocket**

[Sarovic] External and internal debts are a great burden on the economy. By rescheduling the external debts we are postponing this burden to the future, but what should one do with the internal debts which represent a "bomb in one's pocket with a lighted fuse?"

[Bohinc] Our internal debts are large and a consequence of wrong economic, political, and even economic-systemic decisions in the past. We allowed various doubtful debts to accumulate in the Yugoslav National Bank which someone now has to pay off. The well-known proposal is to declare part of these debts as public debts. It is also well-known that there is talk of a so-called bridge as one kind of transitional solution before the new conditions of macroeconomic regulations take effect in which such debts would not even be allowed to arise and exist.

[Sarovic] Is there the chance that this debt will be passed onto the population in future?

[Bohinc] No such thing is planned. It could happen that the population will indirectly bear part of this debt through some taxation policy measures, but no such measures in this direction exist at the moment.

[Sarovic] The failure of earlier attempts at reform is explained by the existing political structures and relations. Is this reform, at least from this viewpoint, in a more favorable position?

[Bohinc] At the moment, there is quite a strong consensus that reform should be undertaken and should be of this type, which means that the political structures are oriented toward this. However, the limitations and dangers are contained in the serious warning that the economic reform cannot be efficiently implemented unless the institutions of the political system and political organization are reformed at the same time, or earlier. It is therefore necessary to intensify activities in the direction of a simultaneous reformation of this political sphere.

[Sarovic] The restructuring of the economy is looked upon as a great reserve and chance for emerging from the crisis. However, large sums of money are necessary for something of this kind, but they are not available.

[Bohinc] The burden of taxes on the economy and low rate of accumulation are the strongest limiting factors in bridling inflation and certainly also in restructuring the economy. The present ratios in the distribution and the proportion that is left to the economy is quite insensible and untenable.

[Sarovic] This conforms with the increasingly frequent demands by workers who ask for a 70:30 ratio in favor of the economy.

[Bohinc] Three years ago, the ratio was approximately 64:36. It would be excellent if we regained it, and we must strive in this direction. I think that the ratio 70:30 is not realistic, but in spite of those who say that the 1985 ratio also was not realistic, I think that we should see who at present is entitled to revenue thus collected.

The restructuring is also favored by the new conditions which make much, much more possible than before a pluralism of ownership and the strengthening of the private sector, the formation of joint private and social enterprises, the involvement of foreign capital and mixed forms, and above all the opportunity for what has not been allowed under the present regulations, which is the so-called "equity" [English word used] financing of enterprises, or rather ownership finance for enterprises.

All these are additional opportunities for restructuring, and additional impulses which, together with the expected reduction of the taxation burden, should bring tangible results. New factors should be put at the service of the economy, and these new factors are all the said opportunities.

**Overprotected Social Ownership**

[Sarovic] How is one to protect social ownership so that social capital will not turn private?

[Bohinc] I think that we have protected it too much so far, and therefore it became inefficient. It should not be protected by administration, but should be exposed to equal competition, and subjected to equal conditions, as other factors in reproduction and other sources of ownership are....

[Sarovic] What about a purely physical or financial relationship and the possibility of capital flows to the detriment of social capital?

[Bohinc] There exist criminal sanctions for such acts. There exist regular legal procedures....

For me, economic questions are important at this moment, and if the question exists of how social property, as property of workers, should be protected from the workers themselves, and of how to achieve unity of conflicting interests within the body of workers and entrepreneurs so that this body would make rational entrepreneurial decisions so as to protect their interest through a larger share of personal incomes, it is, I think, a problem that is resolved by reform through the model of distribution, the ultimate aim of which is that workers who with their work and economic activities reach the so-called average cost of capital make the average rate of profit. One need not prescribe in advance and protect them from themselves through some kind of labor price norms. He who achieves an average rate of profit has used social resources in an efficient way and he can pay out of this as much as he wishes. However, he should bear in mind that if he distributes everything today and does not invest anything in the future, he will possess nothing tomorrow. Any good entrepreneur, business operator, saves and invests for future consumption. This is the essence of the reform: that workers become entrepreneurs and that they are economically dependent on their entrepreneurial decisions.

[Sarovic] Objectively speaking, a worker will become an entrepreneur at this level of consciousness and relations only if he has shares in the enterprise...?

[Bohinc] Shares are one of the methods. Shares are nothing but a mechanism, a technique of investment of capital.

[Sarovic] It is quite certain now that the May measures did not yield the expected results, but they were designed to be a basis for the subsequent reform moves. To which extent will this make the process of reform more difficult?

[Bohinc] These measures could have yielded better results in the sphere of combating inflation. What we now have is in fact an inflation boom. Fiscal limitations prevent us from conducting a subsequent policy of a competitive market and reduction of costs.

[Sarovic] Will there be any change in the interest rates policy which is simply strangling the economy?

[Bohinc] The interest rates policy must be changed, but not in the sense of abandoning the market price of money. The present method of building the past month's inflation into the next month has nothing in common with a market price of money. Our thinking runs in the direction of having the price of capital formed in the market, which means that the state sets only the discount rate at which it settles its accounts with commercial banks, and perhaps the rate at which it values its bonds, in which way it sets the basis for a market price of money, but the interest rates and all the rest should be formed in the market.

**The Danger of Bank Monopoly**

[Sarovic] This offers the possibility of establishing interest rates which vary from bank to bank.

[Bohinc] Exactly, and a prerequisite for this is to break the banks' monopoly on their mutual agreements on interest rates under conditions where the positions of banks and the banking system have not yet been reformed. We must pay attention to the aspect of them being overseen and controlled by the state precisely because of the possible monopolistic behavior of banks. Intensive work is in fact being done in this direction and this idea is being developed.

[Sarovic] How could this be started?

[Bohinc] This should have started several months ago because this problem has been well-known for a long time. We have been late in doing this.

[Sarovic] What is the attitude of the IMF as regards this?

[Bohinc] I think that we can expect that they understand our concept of the market price of money and how this is established under conditions of high inflation.

[Sarovic] You are advocates of the new concept of financing the state whereby it would enter the financial market and its expenses would be seen as public debt, which, according to you, would have an effect on reducing inflation. However, the traditional way of doing things has not been abandoned even for next year.

[Bohinc] I have proposed and I support the idea that the state, too, should partly borrow in the financial market, issuing federal bonds [obveznice federacije], so as to remove some of the burden that is now imposed on the economy for purely fiscal reasons and that has a considerable distorting effect on the domestic market relations. This involves import taxes and duties. Our import policy and therefore the effect of this policy on competition on the domestic market has been distorted to such an extent because of these taxes that the damage done is much greater than the possible additional cost which would be incurred through bond servicing, or rather through the state borrowing in the financial market.

I proposed this as some kind of temporary solution under the conditions of unbearable spending pressure and the disparity of the import exchange rate which is so apparent because of import duties. However, regardless of the current economic situation and these aspects, I believe that the state should be more equal in relation to other entities as regards its own financing. I see no

reason why the state, as an entity, should not borrow and conduct some kind of financial policy, and pay attention to the maturity of its funds.

This idea was not put into practice this year because we have not finally decided on it. There are different views on it, and I think that it is not good that financing a part of the budget for next year or a part of extra-budget expenditure was not accepted. It is also not good that we did not include it in our servicing of the public debt especially as the expenditure in this budget, because of the entitlements acquired through the established plan proportions, is of such a volume that the proposed budget for next year is unfortunately inflationary to such an extent that it will influence the level of inflation, but it cannot be less without a reduction in the entitlements of the spending departments.

**The Director as the Mainstay**

[Sarovic] How does one motivate the workers to produce more with a restrictive personal incomes policy?

[Bohinc] I think that the new program of measures envisages an increase in real personal incomes of 0.6 percent.

We envisaged an increase in the living standard for this year as well, but it did not come about.

It is true that it was not possible to achieve this in such a way just as it is true that spending should be kept within some limits. We have nevertheless to a certain extent made fetishes out of the assessments of the effect of the costs of personal incomes on inflation, which does not mean that they should not be directed and limited in the absence of a worthy system of distribution which would prevent the possible anomalies from occurring. We hope that the Social Accord will be rejuvenated next year which will present a much more favorable chance for showing results and distribution, and which is more stimulative, while the intervention law was a blanket and non-selective measure and therefore stifled motivation.

[Sarovic] The new system establishes the director as the mainstay of the enterprise. Will we be able to create manager-entrepreneurs and director-managers out of present directors?

[Bohinc] The new position of the director strengthens his operational ability. The administration function is more clearly separated from the self-managing function so that his position will be much more independent both from self-management and from the structure of sociopolitical communities. However, this still does not give the guarantee that managing directors will be created just like that. This nevertheless takes time. The mixing of foreign and private ownership will probably have an effect on the profiles of the managers and the management personnel.

[Sarovic] The vast unused expert potential of the unemployed and the use of only just over 60 percent of production capacity are reserves which should be exploited.

[Bohinc] This only shows that this inefficient economic system that we are now reforming allowed such a thing and that this is in fact a catastrophic consequence of this system. On the other hand, this points out the possibilities in a more effective system which we want to create. Precisely because of this, the responsibility of all of us is so much greater because it is historically insupportable that a society can calmly stand by a fact that you have cited and watch how means and resources but also the ambitions and knowledge of young people are disintegrating.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

**Hitting the Right Target**

Everyone knows who will bring reform, but who will be the one to bear it on his shoulders, because this is a reform of the whole of society and all relations of the system's institutions? This involves a reform which begins with the political system and the LC and ends with reform in the economy and economic policy.... It is difficult to say now that one subject will be reformed and another will not. This involves new conditions and new relations in the whole of society. If it is a question of who the reform will hit harder financially, then I think that it should hit those whose work gives the worst results without working out financially better for those who will succeed in adapting to the new market criteria for evaluating results. [sentence as published]

**Welfare for Exceptions**

The reform should not be interrupted or stopped through some kind of pressure. It is better to prepare quality welfare programs for exceptional situations which will probably arise, even in enterprises which now look nice and all right. However, the worst thing of all would be for us to abandon reforming exploits under pressure from those who have not created income for a normal social status through the quality of the work and their productivity.

## Registration of Candidates for Presidency Begins

*LD1112174788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1535 GMT 11 Dec 88*

[Text] Belgrade, December (TANJUG)—The preliminary registration of candidates for new members of the collective state leadership, the Presidency of the SFRY, has started throughout the country. Lists of candidates from the six republics and two autonomous provinces will be finalized by mid-February.

In charge of this extensive action are the country's largest socio-political organization, the Socialist Alliance, and the Yugoslav trade unions.

A new feature of this year's election, resulting from the constitutional amendments enacted late in November, is that the candidates of the republics and provinces will be discussed in the preliminary procedure throughout the country, not only in their own environments.

The Presidency of the SFRY was established in 1971 by the constitutional amendments and at the initiative of the late President Josip Broz Tito. At the time, this body consisted of three members from each republic and two from each province. Under the 1974 Constitution, the republics and the provinces are each represented by one member.

Until recently, the president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency was a member of the State Presidency by virtue of his office. However, the current Yugoslav party leader, Dr Stipe Suvar, had his term of office in the top state leadership terminated by the constitutional amendments separating the party from the state positions. The term of office of State Presidency members is five years.

At present the post of president is occupied by representative of Bosnia-Herzegovina Raif Dizdarevic. According to the rotation principle, he will be successed in the next term by representative of Slovenia.

The composition of the new Presidency of Yugoslavia will be formally announced by the Federal Assembly on May 15 next year.

## Vojvodina LC Conference Scheduled for January

*AU1212184588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 88 p 3*

[Z. Serences and B. Gulan report: "Extraordinary Conference Scheduled for 19 and 20 January 1989"]

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 7 Dec— Yugoslavia's agriculture, and therefore Vojvodina's agriculture, is in an extremely difficult position and unless an effort is made to turn words into deeds, we will soon be threatened by hunger.

This was stated at the session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee whose main topic was the failure to implement the LCY Central Committee conclusions on the development of the agro-industry and socialist self-managing relations in agriculture and the village. At the plenum, the delegates particularly stressed that the implementation of the three reforms and changes in the economic system will facilitate the introduction of the market economy relations in conducting business as a whole and in the production of foodstuffs. [passage omitted]

After a discussion on whether the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC could be held in the period envisaged before, by 20 December, the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, after consulting the LCY Central Committee, proposed that the conference be postponed until 19 and 20 January.

The 1 month postponement is necessary, Miodrag Koprivica, secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, stressed, in order to carry out cadre changes properly, with the full democratic participation of the basic and communal LC organizations within the Vojvodina LC. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

**Djordje Stojsic Left LC**

During the discussion, Cviko Krunic, president of the Stara Pazova LC Communal Committee, recalled that his LC organization launched an initiative for the expulsion of Djordje Stojsic from the LC as far back as 16 October, and that this initiative was sent to a working group set up to examine the accountability of former Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee officials.

He said that he had just learned that the working group has also received a letter from Djordje Stojsic in which he informed the working group that he was leaving the LCY at his on initiative.

Krunic found this, and Stojsic's letter, as an "incredible provocation" and was of the opinion that the members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee and the public should be informed about the content of the letter.

Miodrag Koprivica, secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, informed the members of the Vojvodina LC Central Committee Presidium that the working group's report on the accountability of the former Vojvodina LC officials will be discussed at the next session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee scheduled to be held between 20 and 25 December. At that session the members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee will be given a copy of Stojsic's letter.

## Neum Scandal Continues in Bosnia-Hercegovina

### Resignations Requested

*LD0912235088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 9 Dec 88*

[Text] Sarajevo, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Emina Zaimovic, speaking at a Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee session this evening, proposed to the working group that the issue of ideopolitical responsibility, linked with the building of villas in Neum, be raised for Mate Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, and Nikola Stojanovic, member of the LCY Central Comittee from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC. The working group also noted that there

are grounds to raise the issue of ideopolitical responsibility of Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee members Jerko Bradvica, Kazimir Jelcic, Alija Latic, Mirsad Abazovic, Niko Filipovic (talks have still to be held with him), and Andjelko Obad, and that moral responsibility should be accepted by Milan Vucicevic, Maja Jerkovic, and Nedjeljko Mandic, whose spouses raised credits for the houses in Neum.

It was proposed that these members for whom there are grounds to raise ideopolitical responsibility, should submit their resignations of their own free will. This, however, would not mean that responsibility would no longer be ascertained, but that it would make it easier to settle this affair, which has affected the republic economically and politically.

The debate on this proposal, as well as on the quest for the real culprits, is still in progress.

### Some Officials Resign

*LD0912235988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1932 GMT 9 Dec 88*

[Text] Sarajevo, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Zivko Grubor, chairman of the commission for LCY development and cadre policy, informed the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee session this evening that the following had submitted their resignations: Mato Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, and Nikola Stojanovic.

Before this evening's session, the following Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee members also submitted their resignations: Jerko Bradvica, Kazimir Jelcic, and Alija Latic.

In addition to resignations from the membership in the LCY Central Committee and the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, the ideopolitical responsibility for the construction of villas in Neum is also to be ascertained by regular procedure.

The session continues.

### LC Votes on Abuses

*LD1012183288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 10 Dec 88*

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—After 2 days of work, the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC today established by vote that grounds exist for the establishment of ideopolitical responsibility by Mato Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, Nikola Stojanovic (all members of the LCY Central Committee), Jerko Bradvic, Kazimir Jelcic, Alija Latic, and Nedjeljko Mandic in connection with the construction of weekend houses in Neum. Votes were cast during the Central Committee session separately on the proposal made by the working group which, in the case of 29 people, expressed the view that there is scope for establishing ideopolitical responsibility. Before the next session of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, due to be held soon, the working group will propose specific ideopolitical measures for those individuals.

During the vote it was noticeable that Central Committee members have entirely contradictory views on some members for whom ideopolitical responsibility was not raised.

### LC Lists Offenders

*LD1012184488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 10 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—When yesterday's session of the Central Committee of the Bosnia Hercegovina LC resumed its session today, its working group submitted an enlarged list of senior officials holding responsible positons who arbitarily used credits to build weekend houses in Neum and other localities. Compared with yesterday, when 10 names were mentioned, there were 29 names on the list today.

The working group believes that grounds exist for establishing ideo-political responsibility for the following members of the LCY Central Committee for the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC: Mato Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, Munir Mesihovic, and Nikola Stojanovic. In addition, grounds exist for establishing ideopolitical responsibility for the following members of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC: Abdulah Mutapcic, Jerko Bradvic, Izet Brkovic, Ivan Cvitkovic, Vlatko Dolocek, Kazimir Jelcic, Alija Latic, Gojko Ubiparip, Dusko Zgonjanin, Svetozar Zimonjic, Dzevad Hodza, and Vasa Gacic. It was said of Kemal Hanjualic, Maja Jerkopvic, Nedjeljko Mandic, and Milan Uzelac that their responsibility can be established "from the moral attitude of this practice". A request was immediately submitted at the session for a more specific explanation as to what this means.

Some members of specific organs of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC also found themselves on the list of responsible people. They are Mirsad Abazovic, Niko Filipovic, Stanko Lovric, Andjelko Obad, Milan Vucicevic (moral attitude), Josip Bukovac, Ismet Kreso, and Vinko Radisic.

Most of those whose name had been brought up spoke during the session today. Many of them believe that they had not violated laws and regulations and that accordingly they should not be held accountable, ideologically and politically. Before that they explained how they had built a house at the seaside or in the mountains, explaining that they had not "used the authority of their office". [passage omitted]

During the vote, 13 members of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC expressed the view that the ideopolitical responsibility of Branko Mikulic should

be established. This was discussed by Mladen Oljaca, who stressed that as a senior official over a period of many years, Mikulic bears special responsibility. In this context he emphasized that members of his family have material goods which once belonged to him or his wife.

This statement by Oljaca was objected to by Zdravko Grebo, who said that it is unfair to attack a man who is not present. The Central Committee unanimously agreed that there is no ideopolitical responsibility for Abdulah Mutapcic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC. [passage omitted]

The session continued with Zivko Grubor submitting a report on the renewal of the CC of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC and the LCY Central Committee in keeping with the conclusions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee approved the proposal that Jerko Bradvica, Kazimir Jelcic, and Alija Latic, who had already been discussed in connection with the Neum case, should leave the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC on cadre renewal and on the separation of state and party functions, the following will cease to be Central Committee members: Nikola Filipovic, Kemal Hanjalic, Stevo Mirjanic, Nevenka Selimovic, Matko Topalovic, and Emina Zaimovic, while Vaso Gacic, Nenad Guzina, Seid Maglajlija, Nedjelko Mandic, and Milan Skorob will leave the Central Committee because they have been members of party forums for some considerable time. Alija Isakovic has already intimated his wish to retire.

However, cadre renewal will be discussed at great length during the next Central Committee session when one will know definitely who is leaving and what personnel changes will be made in this organ.

This ended the session of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC after 2 days of work, but there was no absence of polemical tones even at the end of the session. What happened was that Mladen Oljaca asked the Central Committee to take a stance on the 1972 events when this organ had established the ideo-political responsibility of Osman Karabegovic, Avdo humo, Hajro Kapetanovic, and Cedo Kapor.

Oljaca's initiative was resisted by Milan Uzelac, Ivan Barigic, and Dragutin Kosovac, who expressed the view that by harping on those distant years, we would be going back instead of allowing the Central Committee to concern itself with topics crucial for the development of our society. Uzelac said that he did not only agree with Oljaca, but also with Branko Mikulic, who during the preceding Central Committee session was of the view that this organ had committed a mistake to have treated the aforementioned prominent revolutionaries in this way. Without making a scholarly analysis of those events it would be rash to make such assessments from the platform, he thought.

It was agreed to discuss this issue at a later date.

**Reexamination of Ljubljana Military Trial**
*AU1112211888 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 88 p 8*

[TANJUG report: "Group of Delegates Believes Dolanc"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Dec—A group of delegates in charge of the examination of the trial of the "four" today concluded that there is no reason to believe that the document about which they were recently informed by Stane Dolanc is not identical to that which constituted the basis of the trial in the Ljubljana Military Court. This is why they decided by a majority vote not to call for the time being Ivan Borstner, David Tasic, France Zavrl, and Janez Jansa to appear in front of the group and state their opinions on that document.

Along with establishing the well-known facts concerning the unconstitutionality of the trial in Serbo-Croatian, it was decided among other things that the republican secretary for internal affairs and France Popit, former president of the SR of Slovenia, should be invited to give statements to the group because, as was stated, many important things that could shed light on the case happened during their term of office.

**Smole on Svabic's Remarks, Attacks on Army**
*AU1212104788 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 88 p 8*

[D. Damjanovic report: "What Is the Stand Toward Svabic' Statements"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Dec—Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP, today presented the public information media with a copy of the letter he had sent to Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP, concerning the Belgrade rally.

Proceeding from the assertion that "Mihajlo Svabic came up with serious accusations against some Slovenia's leading sociopolitical workers in his speech," Smole in his letter cites parts of Mihajlo Svabic's speech published in Belgrade POLITIKA of 20 November:

"How can we stay calm now when the Army is being attacked daily with the aim of splitting it, creating republican armies, and finishing off the job of splitting Yugoslavia? This divisive work is being performed by the most responsible people. What are others doing when Joze Smole pulls out daily, like a knife from his belt, the question of the trial of four spies...?

"What can one say about the unprecedented provocation by Janez Stanovnik and, even more, about the fact that neither the Slovene Presidency nor any other Slovene organ has found it appropriate to utter a single word to criticize him or express disagreement with his statement but, on the contrary, expresses its solidarity with him? How do they they think they can live in this way in the fraternal community of which Serbia is a part if they do not respect the history, policy, honor, and pride of the Serbian people and their leadership...?

"Yugoslavia is the common fatherland of all people living in it and everything that prevents people from feeling this way must be eliminated. We are sending a message to those who are making threats with public polls and percentages that Yugoslavia will not fawn to anybody or buy loyalty with concessions. The gates should be open to all those who do not unconditionally see Yugoslavia as their fatherland and who think that they would have a better life somewhere else. Let them go, either to Graz [in southern Austria] or Philadelphia, or wherever else they want. We wish them bon voyage...."

At the end of this quotation Joze Smole says:

"I would like to draw your attention to the accusations of Comrade Mihajlo Svabic that we in Slovenia are trying to break up the Yugoslav People's Army, that we strive for republican armies which would help break up Yugoslavia, and that we would like to leave Yugoslavia.

"I would also like to draw your attention that such unprecedented accusations were in fact mentioned in the speech by Mihajlo Svabic for the first time. We cannot ignore this fact.

"Respected Comrade President, as the president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP I would like you to inform me as to what is that stand of the presidium of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP toward the above-mentioned accusations of Comrade Mihajlo Svabic."

## Commentary on Slovene Media and Republic Day

*AU0912122088 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 88 p 10*

[Dusa Damjanovic commentary "'Special Jokes' as Present for the Republic"]

[Text] In its Saturday issue, which came out just before Republic Day, Ljubljana DELO carried a special joke under its regular rubric "That Too." The caption was "Unification Day" and read as follows: "We know from prewar history that 1 December was the day when Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes united into a joint state. This was a national holiday before the war. Now 1 December is the AIDS day. Be careful about your unions!"

One might or might not find this funny, depending on one's personal taste, had it not been for a rather strange set of circumstances, such as the announcement about the holiday issue of DELO, for instance, which was explained as having been a typograhical error. After the Saturday issue which carried the special "joke," the next issue of DELO, which appeared on Monday, appeared without its masthead being in red letters as was the usual thing in the past, and without any indication that it was a holiday issue, etc.

According to Tit Dobersek, responsible editor of DELO, the typographical error in the holiday issue was that it had carried the announcement of a holiday issue by mistake instead of announcing the post-holiday issue.

"We did not plan to have a holiday issue," Tit Dobersek told us, "so we made the Saturday Supplement on the eve of the holiday partly in the form of a holiday issue. There was a special editorial, then a big crossword puzzle of the kind we carry only in holiday issues, a poll done among several Yugoslav personalities entitled 'What Is It That Can Still Unite Us,' and a poll among young experts about Yugoslavia in 2000. The rest were the regular features of a Saturday issue."

Therefore, on 28 November, just as it would every Monday, DELO appeared with a sports supplement, and the only indication that it was a 3-day holiday issue was the television program for 3 days and a Republic Day congratulations message to the readers. However, "The Topic of the Day" rubric carried on the next page certainly helped one understand that this year's holiday differs from the ones in the past, so that it is in this context that one should interpret the fact that newspapers mark it differently.

It is obvious that we have either distanced ourselves from socialism—a collection and system of values such as equality, parity, justice, democracy, solidarity, and good life—or everybody sees the road toward it in a different way. Last night Raif Dizdarevic warned about political violence, that is, political primitivism that pushes us away from democracy. At the same time, people who think that their time has come again have reappeared from their cosy nooks of idleness and lack of success. Different concepts of the development of socialism—within their opposite extremes of statism and self-management—have been appearing more and more clearly, so that it has become very difficult to reach consensus. Without consensus, however, it is always impossible in a case of an open question to affirm the pro-reform front, a term that appeared at the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee, and to affirm a market and innovative economy which would be open toward the world and a society of the same kind.

On the occasion of Republic Day—and all other days too—we all support a strong Yugoslavia, and that is possible only if every one of its individual elements is strong. This is probably what we would all like, but

everybody in his own way. The road toward such a Yugoslavia does not lead through mutual bickering, misunderstanding, accusations, and personal attacks, because they result in reactions such as Kucan's: "Nobody will force us out from this state we have created. We will leave it by our own will, in the same way that we joined it."

It seems that one should be careful not only about the 70th anniversary of Yugoslavia's unification, but also about Yugoslavia of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and the way it is marked, because a different holiday is marked in a different way.

However, to avoid mentioning only DELO as having marked a different holiday in a different way, one should not ignore the fact that Ljubljana Radio and Television failed to carry the joint Yugoslav "News" program even though its representative in the pool of journalists of the Yugoslav Radio and Television addressed viewers in Slovene. Therefore, what was involved this time was not the language, but probably something else. It is probably only being careful again, this time toward a Yugoslav program.

### Stipe Suvar Speaks on Party Theory, Reform

*LD1012200088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0114 GMT 10 Dec 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The training of the LC today and tomorrow for the building of vision and its realization in society is its fundamental task, but it has to be done at the level of the deep-rooted strategy of socialist revolution.

This, among other things, was stated by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who took part in the debate on the concept of the transformation of the LC at yesterday's session of the commission for the preparation of principles of the transformation of the LCY. We are carrying the text of Suvar's speech:

I would say that it is the question of three platforms, or three projects for the future of Yugoslav society, but that the transformation of the LC must be viewed through the criticism of these three platforms, rejecting two and deciding on one, at the same time strongly criticizing it in the sense that numerous fresh ideas are thus formulated for the future.

The first platform proceeds from the assumption about the absence of bourgeois society in Yugoslavia; from the assumption that socialist revolution violated history here, that it had been not only superflous but also unfortunate, and that it pushed our people and this country onto the wrong track and into the backwaters of modern history. Everyday life in this country is already pulsating with such ideas, up to and including songs of praise for the old Yugoslavia under the guise of continuity and pleas for a kind of third Yugoslavia. I will not speak here about the theoretical strongholds of this ideological platform. I would just like to mention that its criticism from the point of view of an epoch is contained in Marxism, starting with the criticism of reformism and revisionism at the end of the last century up to the present Marxist criticism of the modernization theory. For it is vulgar historical determinism upon which all the criticism of our revolution is based, from 1941 and even earlier. From this angle, new messages are voiced: let's reject socialism, let's reject a so-called obsession with the working class—which practically no longer exists or if it did, it would be something completley different from Marx's interpretation—let's restore the political structure of bourgeois society, multi party system, and confederative system, and we will soon be in paradise.

The second platform proceeds from the allegation that socialism in our country was abandoned and betrayed immediately or soon after the victory of the National Liberation Struggle—let's say as early as 1948—and we cannot say that this platform is altogether absent in our society. This can be seen from both the political reactivation of the Cominform-like consciousness and some of our latest political events. Such consciousness is renewed today in various concealed forms and ideologically adapted but on the whole it contains demands for: the commanding role of the party, unitarist majorization in the national policy, and centralism in the conduct of society. In contrast to this, it considers the pluralism of self-managing interests in society to be a brake and an obstacle, a complication hindering the dictatorship of the proletariat which would be realized by the dictatorship of the party. This would be the dictatorship of the Central Committee, and the Central Committee, of course, would then need an infallible leader. Mass national consciousness is very receptive to these formulas in conditions of the fall in living standards and lack of prospects for economic and social development, which is illustrated to a large extent by everyday political life in our country.

I am not analyzing these matters in depth, just giving indications.

Both of these old ideological criticisms of our revolution at the same time represent projects for possibly a completely different future of Yugoslav society in relation to the vision and strategy of Yugoslav socialism, which was born as long ago as the National Liberation Struggle and which developed in Tito's time and under his leadership.

Our disputation of these stances, or if you prefer these criticisms of the socialist revolution which took place and which still exists—though lately suffering from a lot of wounds—does not or should not proceed either from a kind of a priori selected defense of our current ideology, or from our practice to date and especially now; or else from the hardened power structure in our country, self-management on paper, bureaucratism and the party

itself, and the privileged position of various social strata. On the contrary, we proceed from the assumption that neither the first nor the second platforms, or if you wish projects, are capable of ensuring the integration of Yugoslav society on a democratic basis or, to be precise, on a socialist democratic basis with the simultaneous consolidation of the role of creative individuals. This is because our revolution went through a phase of relying on the masses, in which individuals do not mean a great deal, almost nothing, in the reaffirmation of the pluralism of self-managing interests, which we will not renounce, and also of national freedom and equality. And only these two processes—a powerful economic integration coupled with diversification—can ensure that our socialist society can start to develop once again at an accelerated pace and create an increasingly important material and cultural basis for a more complete and rich life for people. In contrast to this, both the platforms and the alternatives I proposed offer a model of a divided society in conflict as our immediate and more distant future.

A restoration of a multiparty system of the bourgeois type on our soil would inevitably lead to a situation in which the interests of classes and people would exclusively be articulated through political parties which, due to the entanglement of interests and historical heritage, could become nothing else but nationalist organizations which would lead our nations into endless mutual recrimination. Finally, this is already happening to a certain extent even in various LC organizations, threatening to disintegrate them into more or less nationalist parties of a populist type. To overcome this is perhaps the most important question of the reform of the LC itself.

On the other hand, the restoration of the not-yet-transcended concept of a one-party system with the commanding role of the party, the principle of majorization and unitarist-centralist model, in which the domination of the most populous nation, or an agreement between two or three nations at the expense of the remaining ones, would quite certainly be unsuccessful; would objectively lead to a more permanent disintegration and decomposition of the country. No one from outside would be able to help us, even if they wanted to, while on the contrary there could be outside attempts to impose various claims at the expense of our country on some of its parts. This could happen despite the fact that there is a highly developed national consciousness and freedom here as the result of our postwar socialist development and the policy of brotherhood and unity.

It is obvious that neither the first nor the second platform could ensure a uniform democratic development of the country. Perhaps the present situation can be the best proof of what results can be obtained from the further consolidation of these forces in society, and even in the LCY.

Consequently, it is meaningless even to ask the question of favoring a kind of socialism, based on the course which was opened up by the revolution and on the fundamental achievements which socialism has already scored—however much some of them may be devalued—or disfavoring socialism if one hopes to have any kind of progress in this country. However, there are very many reasons to ask how one develops socialism further; how one is to change certain things in its nature, to overcome the features of its early development and of the phase of raw industrialization and urbanization, the phase of state monopoly in production relations and one-party monopoly in political life; and how to acquire a new, more humane face and be imbued with the pluralism of self-managing initiatives and responsibility of people.

In this sense, socialism in our country and everywhere else in the world is faced with numerous fresh challenges and hard trials which call for urgent solutions. In the future, if it hasn't always been such in the past, socialism must always be for the benefit of people, and do everything for people and because of people. It is not an end in itself. In particular, it must not use people in order to maintain repression in any form. But this is not sufficient. These are only principled truths which must have a specific and ever-renewing content. Without this content, there would be a struggle between hardened dogmas and beautiful humanitarian phrases while the processes of degradation, alienation, and conflicts would spread over social life.

While not renouncing the well-known thought from the LCY program that there isn't anything that is sacred, which cannot be rejected or transcended, we must condense the assessment of our course up to now, assess realistically the successes, correct the failures and fill the gaps, and also unite and march forward in the struggle to win deep and far-reaching changes.

This is then the question of redefining the concept and role of the LC itself.

In this respect, I think, we must proceed especially from the four features of our socialist revolution which cannot be called into question. We cannot deal with the past alone, but we also cannot examine the current and future course and development without proceeding from the criticisms of this project—which we support—but only as based on what we were and what we have already achieved and attained.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which 3 and ½ decades ago changed its name to the LCY, was the initiator in all crucial moments of our more modern history. Is it so today? If not, why not, and how can it become the initiator? This is the first question. In the past, it had this initiative precisely because it proceeded from the Marxist postulate that the emancipation of the working class must be its own responsibility. However we define the working class, now and in the future, there

can be no party without it—nor is the party needed. Let the conglomeration of whichever parties you want disintegrate. They can be called socialist democratic, people's, progressive, national, etc.

The basic thing is to train the LC now and in the future, so that it can be capable of building vision and implementing it in society, at the level of the deep-rooted strategy of socialist revolution. How is it going to be trained to take over the initiative in society, which it lost to a large extent. For this reason, it is necessary to redefine, renew, enrich its program orientation. It is our big weakness today that we do not derive our development from the tendencies of the epoch and the tendencies of the world development, but that we have fallen into a trap just like all the other socialist countries. Socialism in the phase of early industrialization and urbanization had to be like that, but today it can be so no longer. How are we to understand all the new moments in the development of production forces and social relations in the world and in our country, and then analyze in-depth changes in the methods of activity and work of the LC and in its relations with the working class and all the creative forces of society? The essence of its reform which is so acute lies precisely here, I think.

Secondly, I would say that a kind of conservative communism is very common in our country, connected with that second platform which I discussed, but not only with that platform which views modern civilization as a bourgeois system and which should be destroyed in order to build a new society on the ruins of the old one. Modern civilization came about by the antipathy of capital and labor, and its development is the result of this dialectic, while the development of democracy in capitalism begins with slogans of bourgeois revolution about freedom, equality, and brotherhood. The workers' movement has been fighting for a full 2 centuries to turn these slogans into reality and give them its class interpretation. This is why socialism in our country, regardless of its birth pangs, was as an attempt to raise the capitalist function and the labor function to a higher level, which would step up the development of production forces through the people's emancipation. For this reason, from the very preparations and accomplishment of socialist revolution, our strategy was—using the experiences of bourgeois democracies—to promote this democracy and change its social basis. This last, the acquisition of a changed social basis, appeared and keeps appearing in drastic forms of bourgeois dictatorships as the limit which threatens the whole of society.

Thirdly, from the very moment of victory of the revolution, and later increasingly so, our theory and practice had a radically different concept from the Stalinist one which reduces socialism to a system with three crippled economic-political processes: the abolition of private ownership through the strengthening of state ownership, the abolition of commodity exchange and its substitution with a general plan, and finally, the abolition of democracy for the sake of a narrowed and warped formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the dictatorship of the state-party bureaucracy.

I think that even today, we are the big prisoners of these three reductionist approaches both in theory and practice, however much the strategy of revolution may be turned to overcoming them.

Fourthly, from the very beginning, and not just from 1948, socialist democracy did not derive from the thesis on historic right to revolution, but on the principle of national sovereignty. Consequently, the legitimacy of power was derived from constitutional-legal legality and not from the revolutionary justice of a party state.

We must carry out a criticism of our own stances on the basis of these matters in order to go forward, Suvar concluded.

## Refinery Sues Government for Dereliction

*LD0912224888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1101 GMT 9 Dec 88*

[Text] Rijeka 9 Dec (TANJUG)—At the end of November, the Rijeka oil refinery brought charges at the Belgrade District Court asking to be compensated for losses of more than 161 billion dinars. Because existing laws had not been respected, relevant federal organs made it impossible for the organization of associated labor for fuel and aromatic derivatives to get payments to which it was entitled. The prices of the derivatives were set by the Federal Executive Council; that organization of associated labor, which exclusively processes imported crude, received the difference between the real and the average—or rather the recognized—price of oil. By the end of last year this resulted in a loss which was only made good by October. This meant that the refinery, in order to carry on normal business, had to get expensive loans, thus making its financial position even more difficult.

It is evident from the refinery's explanation that the state had recognized the price differences by special legislative provisions, particularly through the law on differences in rates of exchange. Since the state organs were not competent, the regulations were not applied on time. The refinery proved this by quoting the law on differences in rates of exchange, adopted in spring 1988, while the criteria by which the rights stemming from this law are set are still in the proposal stage.

The refinery officials therefore believe that the state organs are responsible for implementing the law and that these same organs should be accountable for the damage suffered in business transaction as a result of not respecting the law.

**Emigration From Yugoslavia Increasing**
*AU1412141688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 88 p 2*

[Mirko Mlakar commentary "One-Way Tickets"]

[Text] Some 20 years ago, the Yugoslav leadership solved the unemployment problem by opening the borders for all those people who wanted to go abroad to the West, to work there temporarily, as it was thought then. Then the temporary work turned into a lengthy sojourn, and finally families were gathering or being started. Now the third generation is being brought up in Western Europe, so it is pure sarcasm to speak about workers working abroad temporarily. Let us be realistic: What is involved here is another million Yugoslav emigrants, social self-managing emigrants.

Their position is affected more by the policies of host countries than by "measures and activities" Yugoslavia undertakes regarding this category of its citizens. All this, of course, applies only if our country has a returnee policy at all, for one cannot attach the name of suitable policy to something that gives very weak results or gives no results at all.

What kind of policy of prompting their return is this when "guest workers" [German word "gastarbeiter" used] are only now—as the FEC has recently established through the Draft Law on Foreign Investment—put in the same (favorable, that is) legal position as foreigners are? The state has finally opened its doors to foreigners and, as if in passing and within the same package, to its citizens whom the "policy" of that same state had imprisoned on the other side of the border.

This country—which devotes so much attention to defending itself from all sides and from all sorts of things—obviously still has not seriously begun to think about the simple fact that battalions of our citizens exist throughout West European countries. Let our words be suitable to the situation, therefore, cynical: Are these Yugoslavs "a knife in the back" of possible aggressors? What is involved is not only the number, but the quality of the people involved as well. We know nothing about the volume and direction of the exports of gray matter and the rest, and even if we did know would both the migrant people and our community then find life easier?

It has been estimated that between 20,000 and 60,000 experts have left for the United States, Canada, France, and other "world-dominating" countries during the past 10 years. The Rudjer Boskovic Institute has suggested that about 40,000 people, mostly technical and scientific intelligentsia, have left our country during this year alone. The alarming estimation of the Zagreb Institute would probably sound more truthful if one collected data about Macedonians who are "rediscovering" America and Australia. When analyzing this data, we are confronted with the fact that 3,600 people have left this year for Australia alone. According to official data, most of these people came from our southernmost republic. All transoceanic flights from Skopje have been booked up until the spring of 1989, so people are flying via Belgrade, Zagreb, Vienna, Athens.... As a rule, one buys one-way tickets [Serb-Croatian word followed by English word within brackets]. This is not only because air transportation is expensive, or because one immigration request costs $200 [Australian dollars] (according to official exchange rate this is 800,000 so-called new dinars), but simply because the basic idea is to leave and to stay as far from Yugoslavia as possible.

It sounds almost unbelievable that in the Ohrid Trudbenik construction enterprise alone, 300 workers asked for unpaid leave this year. They are trying to sell their skills for more money in Australia, Canada, and the United States. Many of these people who have gone there to "feel the ground" are going to stay, be it legally or illegally. By the way, according to the files of the Ohrid Self-Managing Interest Community for Employment, the largest number of people who have emigrated permanently are doctors, economists, and engineers (mostly electrical engineers). The situation is even worse in the Bitola region: The exodus of experts has achieved an epidemic form there, which is shown by the fact that 746 experts "disappeared" last year, and the number is going to be even higher this year.

People seek all possible ways to escape to a "promised land." Thus, for 2 months in a row, Yugoslavs are the most numerous people—beating even the Poles, who are notorious champions in this discipline—among those trying to acquire residence permits in the FRG by claiming to be political emigres. The majority of these people are Albanian nationals and Romanies from Kosovo and Western Macedonia. There were 2,908 "asylum seekers" this October, and 2,891 last month. During the same months last year, the number of people who claimed to be victims of repression in Yugoslavia was 574 and 1,019, respectively. The permit is granted only to every 33d person, not because the FRG has become stricter toward political refugees, but because the local authorities are aware of the fact that the main motive is nevertheless an economic one.

The fact that the basic reasons for "betraying one's passports" are material and "banal" may be helping the Yugoslav political system to appear "clean" before the international public and partner states. Nevertheless, is it really possible that Yugoslavia has nothing to offer its citizens who are (in this case) Albanian and Romany nationals but indifference and even contempt for their act of desperation? Not even an elaborated and planned system of migration within Yugoslavia?

Finally, if the experts we need most are leaving, who is then going to help Macedonia, as well as the rest of Yugoslavia to enter the circle of modern countries? Is it going to be the bureaucracy which has been showing its technological and other impotence for as many as 25 years so far? Is not a man, particularly a (highly) skilled

one, the most significant production facto,r even in the case of the so-called socialist self-managing way of production? After all, if so many people run away like mad because of the most elementary respect for their heads and stomachs, who is going to stay in this country, it being the way it is, at all?

## Commentary on 'Positive' Gorbachev Speech

*AU1112174888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 11 Dec 88*

[Branislav Canak commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] With his proposals made in New York, Mikhail Gorbachev has in fact set the framework of the agenda of all meetings scheduled to be held in the near future. The spheres to which his initiatives refer have been standard themes on the agenda of the foreign ministers' meetings and the summits. They are the questions of disarmament, human rights, regional conflicts, and again, indirectly, bilateral relations.

Gorbachev has, however, added some other issues which in the past have either not been discussed, or were more or less silently treated as trump cards and as the political-economic and even technological advantages of the West. This refers to the debt of the least developed and developing countries, the problem of protecting the human environment, and research in space.

As far as international debts are concerned, the USSR has for many years refused to deal with this question in any way, stressing that it did not cause that situation. Now, Gorbachev is calling for radical changes, which are mainly in line with the proposals of the majority of the debtor countries, insisting in particular on a multilateral approach to the problem.

The protection of the human environment has become a growing problem in socialist countries. Particularly worrying is the fact that the human environment has not been considered before and that socialist countries do not have their own effective technology for protection from pollution.

Research in space for peaceful purposes is of the USSR's particular interest for two reasons. First, the world has reached a stage of development which requires broader international cooperation. Second, the internationalization of space also has a very important military dimension. Behind this proposal by Mikhail Gorbachev is therefore the interest to, in this way, untie the knot of disputes with the United States concerning the application of the agreement on anti-ballistic systems which encompasses the problem of the so-called Star Wars, and the question of the Soviet radar station in Krasnoyarsk. As regards this station, which is the last obstacle to the Americans' resuming negotiations on the reduction of strategic weapons, Gorbachev said that it has already been placed in the hands of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Among the themes which we described at the beginning of this commentary as usual themes in the superpowers' negotiations, the one that draws particular attention is one concerning the reduction of the Soviet conventional weapons in the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary. This decision on the unilateral reduction of men and conventional weapons, independent of the course of negotiations in Vienna, has manifold effects. It will have positive political effects in West Europe as well as in the countries where military units are stationed; it will considerably reduce the USSR's costs and will facilitate the transfer of funds into the civil sector; and, of course, it will give an additional dose of convincing to the policy of new thinking and perestroyka [Russian word for restructuring used] in the USSR's foreign policy in general.

On this line, one could perhaps also explain the proposals concerning Afghanistan which in some details go even beyond the Geneva agreement. In other words, this is another instance of unilateral goodwill as well as an announcement of further changes in understanding the entirety of human freedoms.

Finally, let us mention two more observations. First of all, this was stated in the United Nations and in this way attaches to this institution a considerable importance at the time when the other superpower, the United States, failed to receive approval for its moves—let us only mention the last, the denial of a visa to Yasir 'Arafat—and its attitudes toward the world organization. Second, Gorbachev has delivered his new year peace package in the U.S. presidential interregnum, giving in this way the new president a lot of time to have ready answers in January when he will be inaugurated.